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THE
HISTORY
OF
AMERICA.

BY

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THE
H I S T O R Y
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A M E R I C A.
B O O K VI.

Schemes for discovering Peru,

FROM the time that Nugnez de Balboa discovered the great Southern Ocean, and received the first obscure hints concerning the opulent countries with which it might open communication, the wishes and schemes of every enterprising person in the colonies of Darien and Panama were turned towards the wealth of those unknown regions. In an age when the spirit of adventure was so ardent and vigorous, that large fortunes were wasted, and the most alarming dangers braved, in pursuit of discoveries merely possible, the faintest ray of hope was followed with eager expectation, and the slightest information was sufficient to inspire such perfect confidence, as conducted men to the most arduous undertakings. a)

Unsuccessful for some time.

Accordingly, several armaments were fitted out in order to explore and take possession of the countries to the east of Panama, but under the conduct of leaders whose talents and re-

a) See NOTE I.

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sources were unequal to the attempt. b) As the excursions of those adventurers did not extend beyond the limits of the province to which the Spaniards have given the name of *Tierra Firme*, a mountainous region covered with woods, thinly inhabited, and extremely unhealthy, they returned with dismal accounts concerning the distresses to which they had been exposed, and the unpromising aspect of the places which they had visited. Damped by these tidings, the rage for discovery in that direction abated; and it became the general opinion, that Balboa had founded visionary hopes, on the tale of an ignorant Indian, ill understood, or calculated to deceive.

Undertaken by Pizarro, Almagro, and Luque.

But there were three persons settled in Panama, on whom the circumstances which deterred others made so little impression, that, at the very moment when all considered Balboa's expectations of discovering a rich country, by steering towards the east, as chimerical, they resolved to attempt the execution of his scheme. The names of those extraordinary men were Francisco Pizarro, Diego de Almagro, and Hernando Luque. Pizarro was the natural son of a gentleman of an honourable family by a very low woman, and, according to the cruel fate

b) Calancha Chronica, p. 100.

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which often attends the offspring of unlawful love, had been so totally neglected in his youth by the author of his birth, that he seems to have destined him never to rise beyond the condition of his mother. In consequence of this ungenerous idea, he set him, when bordering on manhood, to keep hogs. But the aspiring mind of young Pizarro disdaining that ignoble occupation, he, abruptly abandoned his charge, enlisted as a soldier, and, after serving some years in Italy, embarked for America, which, by opening such a boundless range to active talents, allured every adventurer whose fortune was not equal to his ambitious thoughts. There Pizarro early distinguished himself. With a temper of mind no less daring than the constitution of his body was robust, he was foremost in every danger, patient under the greatest hardships, and unsubdued by any fatigue. Though so illiterate that he could not even read, he was soon considered as a man formed to command. Every operation committed to his conduct proved successful, as, by a happy but rare conjunction, he united perseverance with ardour, and was as cautious in executing, as he was bold in forming his plans. By engaging early in active life, without any resource but his own talents and industry, and by depending on himself alone in his struggles to emerge from obscurity, he acquired such a thorough knowledge of affairs, and of men, that he was fitted to

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assume a superior part in conducting the former, and in governing the latter. c)

Almagro had as little to boast of his descent as Pizarro. The one was a bastard, the other a foundling. Bred, like his companion, in the camp, he yielded not to him in any of the soldierly qualities of intrepid valour, indefatigable activity, or insurmountable constancy, in enduring the hardships inseparable from military service in the New World. But in Almagro these virtues were accompanied with the openness, generosity, and candour, natural to men whose profession is arms; in Pizarro, they were united with the address, the craft, and the dissimulation of a politician, with the art of concealing his own purposes, and with sagacity to penetrate into those of other men.

Hernando de Luque was an ecclesiastick, who acted both as priest and schoolmaster at Panama, and by means which the contemporary writers have not described, had amassed riches that inspired him with thoughts of rising to greater eminence.

Terms of their association,

Such were the men destined to overturn one of the most extensive empires on the face of the earth. Their confederacy for this purpose was authorised by Pedrarias, the governor

c) Herrera, dec. I & 2, passim. dec. iv. lib. vi. c. 107. Gomara Hist. c. 144. Zarate, lib. iv. c. 9.

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of Panama. Each engaged to employ his whole fortune in the adventure. Pizarro, the least wealthy of the three, as he could not throw so large a sum as his associates into the common stock, engaged to take the department of greatest fatigue and danger, and to command in person the armament which was to go first upon discovery. Almagro offered to conduct the supplies of provisions and reinforcements of troops, of which Pizarro might stand in need. Luque was to remain at Panama to negotiate with the governor, and superintend whatever was carrying on for the general interest. As the spirit of enthusiasm uniformly accompanied that of adventure in the New World, and by that strange union both acquired an increase of force, this confederacy, formed by ambition and avarice was confirmed, by the most solemn act of religion. Luque celebrated mass, divided a consecrated host into three, and reserving one part to himself, gave the other two to his associates, of which they partook; and thus, in name of the Prince of Peace, ratified a contract of which plunder and bloodshed were the objects. d)

Their first attempt, attended with little success.

The attempt was begun with a force more suited to the humble condition of the three associates, than to the greatness of the enterprise in which they were engaged. Pizarro set

d) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vi. c. 13. Zarate, lib. i. c. 1.

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sail from Panama (Nov. 14. 1524) with a single vessel, of small burden, and a hundred and twelve men. But in that age, so little were the Spaniards acquainted with the peculiarities of climate in America, that the time which Pizarro chose for his departure was the most improper in the whole year; the periodical winds, which were then set in, being directly adverse to the course which he purposed to steer. e) After beating about for seventy days, with much danger and incessant fatigue, Pizarro's progress towards the south-east was not greater than what a skilful navigator will now make in as many hours. He touched (1525) at several places on the coast of Tierra Firmè, but found every where the same uninviting country which former adventurers had described; the low grounds converted into swamps by the overflowing of rivers, the higher, covered with impervious woods; few inhabitants, and those fierce and hostile. Famine, fatigue, frequent rencounters with the natives, and above all, the distempers of a moist, sultry climate, combined in wasting his slender band of followers. The undaunted resolution of their leader continued, however, for some time, to sustain their spirits, although no sign had yet appeared of discovering those golden regions to which he had promised to conduct them. At length, he was obliged to abandon that inhospitable coast, and

●) Herrera, dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 8. Xerez, p. 179.

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and retire to Chuchama, opposite to the pearl islands, where he hoped to receive a supply of provisions and troops from Panama.

But Almagro having sailed from that port with seventy men, stood directly towards that part of the continent where he hoped to meet with his associate. Not finding him there, he landed his soldiers, who, in searching for their companions, underwent the same distresses, and were exposed to the same dangers, which had driven them out of the country. Repulsed at length by the Indians in a sharp conflict, in which their leader lost one of his eyes by the wound of an arrow, they likewise were compelled to reembark. Chance led them to the place of Pizarro's retreat (June 24.) where they found some consolation in recounting to each other their adventures, and comparing their sufferings. As Almagro had advanced as far as the river St. Juan, in the province of Popayan, where both the country and inhabitants appeared with a more promising aspect, that dawn of better fortune was sufficient to determine such sanguine projectors not to abandon their scheme, notwithstanding all that they had suffered in prosecuting it. f)

They resume the undertaking, 1526.

Almagro repaired to Panama, in hopes of recruiting their shattered troops. But what he

f) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 11, 12. See NOTE II.

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and Pizarro had suffered, gave his countrymen such an unfavourable idea, of the service, that it was with difficulty he could levy fourscore men. g) Feeble as this reinforcement was, they did not hesitate about resuming their operations. After a long series of disasters and disappointments, not inferior to those which they had already experienced, part of the armament reached the Bay of St. Matthew, on the coast of Quito, and landing at Tacamez, to the south of the river of Emeralds, they beheld a country more champaign and fertile than any they had yet discovered in the Southern Ocean, the natives clad in garments of woollen or cotton stuff, and adorned with several trinkets of gold and silver.

But, notwithstanding those favourable appearances, magnified beyond the truth, both by the vanity of the persons who brought the report from Tacamez, and by the fond imagination of those who listened to them, Pizarro and Almagro durst not venture to invade a country so populous with a handful of men enfeebled by fatigue and diseases. They retired to the small island of Gallo, where Pizarro remained with part of the troops, and his associate returned to Panama, in hopes of bringing such a reinforcement, as might enable them to take possession of the opulent territories, whose existence seemed to be no longer doubtful. h)

g) Zarate, lib. i. c. I.

h) Xerez, 181. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. viii. c. 13.

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Pizarro recalled by the governor of Panama.

But some of the adventurers, less enterprising, or less hardy than their leaders, having secretly conveyed lamentable accounts of their sufferings and losses to their friends at Panama, Almagro met with an unfavourable reception from Pedro de los Rios, who had succeeded Pedrarias in the government of that settlement. After weighing the matter with that cold economical prudence which appears the first of all virtues to persons whose limited faculties are incapable of conceiving or executing great designs, he concluded an expedition, attended with such certain waste of men, to be so detrimental to an infant and feeble colony, that he not only prohibited the raising of new levies, but dispatched a vessel to bring home Pizarro and his companions from the island of Gallo. Almagro and Luque, though deeply affected with those measures, which they could not prevent, and durst not oppose, found means of communicating their sentiments privately to Pizarro, and exhorted him not to relinquish an enterprize that was the foundation of all their hopes, and the only means of reestablishing their reputation and fortune, which were both on the decline.

Perists in his design.

Pizarro's mind, bent with inflexible obstinacy on all its purposes, needed no incentive

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to persist in the scheme. He peremptorily refused to obey the governor of Panama's orders, and employed all his address and eloquence in persuading his men not to abandon him. But the incredible calamities to which they had been exposed were still so recent in their memories, and the thoughts of revisiting their families and friends after a long absence, rushed with such joy into their minds, that when Pizarro drew a line upon the sand with his sword, permitting such as wished to return home to pass over it, only thirteen of all the daring veterans in his service had resolution to remain with their commander. i)

This small, but determined band, whose names the Spanish historians record with deserved praise, as the persons to whose persevering fortitude their country is indebted for the most valuable of all its American possessions, fixed their residence in the island of Gorgona. This, as it was farther removed from the coast than Gallo, and uninhabited, they considered as a more secure retreat, where, unmolested, they might wait for supplies from Panama, which they trusted that the activity of their associates would be able to procure. Almagro and Luque were not inattentive or cold sollicitors, and their incessant importunity was seconded by the general voice of the colony,

i) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 2, 3. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Xerez, 181. Gomara Hist. c. 109.

which exclaimed loudly against the infamy of exposing brave men, engaged in the publick service and chargeable with no error but what flowed from an excess of zeal and courage, to perish like the most odious criminals in a desert island. Overcome by those entreaties and expostulations, the governor at last consented to send a small vessel to their relief. But that he might not seem to encourage Pizarro to any new enterprize, he would not permit one landman to embark on board of it.

Hardships he endured.

By this time Pizarro and his companions had remained five months in an island, infamous for the most unhealthy climate in that region of America. k) During all this period, their eyes were turned towards Panama, in hopes of succour from their countrymen; but worn out at length with fruitless expectations, and dispirited with suffering hardships of which they saw no end, they, in despair, came to a resolution of committing themselves to the ocean on a float, rather than continue in that detestable abode. But on the arrival of the vessel from Panama, they were transported with such joy, that all their sufferings were forgotten. Their hopes revived, and, with a rapid transition, not unnatural among men accustomed by their mode of life to sudden vicissitudes of fortune, high

k) See NOTE III,

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confidence succeeding to extreme dejection, Pizarro easily induced not only his own followers, but the crew of the vessel from Panama, to resume his former scheme with fresh ardour. Instead of returning to Panama, they stood towards the south-east, and more fortunate in this than in any of their past efforts, they, on the twentieth day after their departure from Gorgona, discovered the coast of Peru.

Discovers Peru. 1526.

After touching at several villages on the coast no wise inviting, they landed at Tumbéz, a place of some note, about three degrees south of the line, distinguished for its stately temple, and a palace of the Incas or sovereigns of the country. 1) There the Spaniards feasted their eyes with the first view of the opulence and civilization of the Peruvian empire. They beheld a country fully peopled and cultivated with an appearance of regular industry; the natives decently clothed, and possessed of ingenuity so far surpassing the other inhabitants of the New World, as to have the use of tame domestick animals. But what chiefly attracted their notice, was such a show of gold and silver, not only in the ornaments of their persons and temples, but in several vessels and utensils for common use, formed of the same precious metals, as left no room to doubt that these

1) Calancha, p. 193.

abounded with profusion in the country. Pizarro and his companions seemed now to have attained to the completion of their most sanguine hopes, and fancied that all their wishes and dreams of rich domains, and inexhaustible treasures, would soon be realized.

Returns to Panama. 1527.

But with the slender force then under his command, Pizarro could only view the rich country of which he hoped hereafter to obtain possession. He ranged, however, for some time along the coast, maintaining every where a peaceable intercourse with the natives, no less astonished at their new visitants, than the Spaniards were with the uniform appearance of opulence and cultivation which they beheld. Having explored the country as far as was requisite to ascertain the importance of the discovery, Pizarro procured from the inhabitants some of their Llamas or tame cattle, to which the Spaniards gave the name of sheep, some vessels of gold and silver, as well as some specimens of their other works of ingenuity, and two young men, whom he proposed to instruct in the Castilian language, that they might serve as interpreters in the expedition which he meditated. With these he arrived at Panama, towards the close of the third year from the time of his departure thence. m) No adventurer of

m) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3 - 6. dec. 4. lib. ii. c. 7, 8. Vega, 2. lib. i. c. 10 - 14. Zarate, lib. i. c. 2. Benzo Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 1.

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the age suffered hardships or encountered dangers which equal those to which he was exposed during this long period. The patience with which he endured the one, and the fortitude with which he surmounted the other, exceed whatever is recorded in the history of the New World, where so many romantick displays of those virtues occur.

New schemes of the associates. 1528.

Neither the splendid relation that Pizarro gave of the incredible opulence of the country which he had discovered, nor his bitter complaints on account of that unseasonable recall of his forces, which had put it out of his power to attempt making any settlement there, could move the governor of Panama to swerve from his former purpose. He still contended, that the colony was not in a condition to invade such a mighty empire, and refused to authorise an expedition which he foresaw would be so alluring that it might ruin the province in which he presided, by an effort beyond its strength. His coldness, however, did not in any degree abate the ardour of the three associates; but they perceived that they could not carry their scheme into execution without the countenance of superior authority, and must solicit their sovereign to grant that permission which they could not extort from his delegate. With this view, after adjusting among themselves that Pi-

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zorro should claim the station of governor, Almagro that of lieutenant-governor, and Luque the dignity of bishop in the country which they purposed to conquer, they sent Pizarro as their agent to Spain, though their fortunes were now so much exhausted by the repeated efforts which they had made, that they found some difficulty in borrowing the small sum requisite towards equipping him for the voyage. n)

Pizarro sent to Spain to negotiate.

Pizarro lost no time in repairing to court, and new as the scene might be to him, he appeared before the emperor with the unembarrassed dignity of a man conscious of what his services merited; and he conducted his negotiations with an insinuating dexterity of address, which could not have been expected either from his education or former habits of life. His feeling description of his own sufferings, and his pompous account of the country which he had discovered, confirmed, by the specimens of its productions which he exhibited, made such an impression both on Charles and his ministers, that they not only approved of the intended expedition, but seemed to be interested in the success of its leader.

Neglects his associates, and procures the supreme command to himself.

Presuming on those dispositions in his favour, Pizarro paid little attention to the interest of

n) Herrera, dec. 4. lib. iii. c. 1. Vega 2. lib. i. c. 14.

his associates. As the pretensions of Luque did not interfere with his own, he obtained for him the ecclesiastical dignity to which he aspired. For Almagro, he claimed only the command of the fortress which should be erected at Tumbez. To himself he secured whatever his boundless ambition could desire. He was appointed (July 26. 1528.) governor, captain-general, and adelantado of all the country which he had discovered, and hoped to conquer, with supreme authority, civil as well as military; and a full right to all the privileges and emoluments usually granted to adventurers in the New World.

His jurisdiction was declared to extend two hundred leagues along the coast to the south of the river St. Jago; to be independent of the governor of Panama; and he had power to nominate all the officers who were to serve under him. In return for those concessions, which cost the court of Spain nothing, as the enjoyment of them depended upon the success of Pizarro's own efforts, he engaged to raise two hundred and fifty men, and to provide the ships, arms and warlike stores requisite towards subjecting, to the crown of Castile, the country of which the government was allotted him.

Slender force he was able to raise.

Inconsiderable as the body of men was which Pizarro had undertaken to raise, his funds and credit were so low that he could

hardly complete half the number; and after obtaining his patents from the crown, he was obliged to steal privately out of the port of Seville, in order to elude the scrutiny of the officers who had it in charge to examine, whether he had fulfilled the stipulations in his contract. o) Before his departure, (1529) however, he received some supply of money from Cortes, who having returned to Spain about this time, was willing to contribute his aid towards enabling an ancient companion, with whose talents and courage he was well acquainted, to begin a career of glory similar to that which he himself had finished. p)

He landed at Nombre de Dios, and marched across the isthmus to Panama, accompanied by his three brothers, Ferdinand, Juan, and Gonzalo, of whom the first was born in lawful wedlock, the two latter, like himself, were of illegitimate birth, and by Francisco de Alcantara, his mother's brother. They were all in the prime of life, and of such abilities and courage as fitted them to take a distinguished part in his subsequent transactions.

His reconciliation with Almagro.

On his arrival at Panama (1530) Pizarro found Almagro so much exasperated at the manner in which he had conducted his negociation, that he not only refused to act any longer in

o) Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 9.

p) Ibid. lib. vii. c. 10.

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concert with a man, by whose perfidy he had been excluded from the power and honours to which he had a just claim, but laboured to form a new association, in order to thwart or to rival his former confederate in his discoveries. Pizarro, however, had more wisdom and address than to suffer a rupture so fatal to all his schemes, to become irreparable. By offering voluntarily to relinquish the office of Adelantado, and promising to concur in soliciting that title, with an independent government, for Almagro, he gradually mitigated the rage of an open-hearted soldier, which had been violent, but was not inplacable. Luque, highly satisfied with having been successful in all his own pretensions, cordially seconded Pizarro's endeavours. A reconciliation was effected; and the confederacy renewed on its original terms, that the enterprise should be carried on at the common expence of the associates, and the profits accruing from it should be equally divided among them. q)

Their armament.

Even after their re-union, and the utmost efforts of their interest, three small vessels, with a hundred and eighty soldiers, thirty-six of whom were horsemen, composed the armament which they were able to fit out. But the astonishing progress of the Spaniards in America had in-

q) Herrera, dec. 4. lib. viii c. 9. Zarrate. lib. i. c. 3. Vega. 2. lib. i. c. 14.

spired them with such ideas of their own superiority, that Pizarro did not hesitate to sail (February 1531.) with this contemptible force to invade a great empire. Almagro was left at Panama, as formerly, to follow him with what reinforcement of men he should be able to muster. As the season for embarking was properly chosen, and the course of navigation between Panama and Peru was now better known, Pizarro completed the voyage in thirteen days; though, by the force of the winds and currents, he was carried above a hundred leagues to the north of Tumbez, the place of his destination, and obliged to land his troops in the bay of St. Matthew.

Lands in Peru.

Without losing a moment, he began to advance towards the south, taking care, however, not to depart far from the sea-shore, both that he might easily effect a junction with the supplies which he expected from Panama, and secure a retreat in case of any disaster, by keeping as near as possible to his ships. But as the country in several parts on the coast of Peru is barren, unhealthful, and thinly peopled; as the Spaniards had to pass all the rivers near their mouth, where the body of water is greatest; and as the imprudence of Pizarro, in attacking the natives when he should have studied to gain their confidence, had forced them to abandon their habitations; famine, fatigue, and diseases

of various kinds, brought upon him and his followers calamities hardly inferior to those which they had endured in their former expedition. What they now experienced corresponded so ill with the alluring description of the country given by Pizarro, that many began to reproach him, and every soldier must have become cold to the service, if, even in this unfertile region of Peru, they had not met with some appearances of wealth and cultivation, which seemed to justify the report of their leader. At length they reached (April 14. 1531) the province of Coaque; and, having surprised the principal settlement of the natives, they seized there vessels and ornaments of gold and silver, to the amount of thirty thousand pesos, with other booty of such value, as dispelled all their doubts, and inspired the most desponding with sanguine hopes. r)

His measures for obtaining a reinforcement.

Pizarro himself was so much delighted with this rich spoil, which he considered as the first fruits of a land abounding with treasure, that he instantly dispatched one of his ships to Panama with a large remittance to Almagro; and another to Nicaragua with a considerable sum to some persons of influence in that province, in hopes of alluring adventurers, by this early display of the wealth which he had acquired. Meanwhile, he continued his march along the coast, and disdaining to employ any means of reducing the natives

r) Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii, c. 9, lib. ii, c. I. . Xeres 182.

but force, he attacked them with such violence in their scattered habitations, as compelled them either to retire into the interior country, or to submit to his yoke. This sudden appearance of invaders, whose aspect and manners were so strange, and whose power seemed to be so irresistible, made the same dreadful impression as in other parts of America. Pizarro hardly met with resistance until he attacked the island of Puna in the bay of Guayaquil. As that was better peopled than the country through which he had passed, and its inhabitants fiercer and less civilized than those of the continent, they defended themselves with such obstinate valour, that Pizarro spent six months in reducing them to subjection. From Puna he proceeded to Tumbez, where the distempers which raged among his men compelled him to remain for three months. s)

Receives some, and continues to advance.

While he was thus employed, he began to reap advantage from his attention, to spread the fame of his first success at Coaque. Two different detachments arrived from Nicaragua, which, though neither exceeded thirty men, he considered as a reinforcement of great consequence to his feeble band, especially as the one was under the command of Sebastian Benalcazar, and the other of Hernando Soto, officers not inferior in merit and reputation to any who had served

s) P. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. p. 371, F. Herrera, dec. 4. lib. vii. c. 18. lib. ix. c. 1. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 2, 3. Xeres p. 182, &c.

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in America. From Tumbez he proceeded (May 16. 1532.) to the river Piura, and in an advantageous station near the mouth of it, he established the first Spanish colony in Peru; to which he gave the name of St. Michael.

As Pizarro continued to advance towards the centre of the Peruvian empire, he gradually received more full information concerning its extent and policy, as well as the situation of its affairs at that juncture. Without some knowledge of these, he could not have conducted his operations with propriety; and without a suitable attention to them, it is impossible to account for the progress which the Spaniards had already made, or to unfold the causes of their subsequent success.

State of the Peruvian empire.

At the time when the Spaniards invaded Peru, the dominions of its sovereigns extended in length, from north to south, above fifteen hundred miles along the Pacifick Ocean. Its breadth, from east to west, was much less considerable; being uniformly bounded by the vast ridge of the Andes, stretching from its one extremity to the other. Peru, like the rest of the New World, was originally possessed by small independent tribes, differing from each other in manners, and in their forms of rude policy. All, however, were so little civilized, that, if the traditions concerning their mode of life, preserved among their descendants, deserve credit, they must

must be classed among the most unimproved savages of America. Strangers to every species of cultivation or regular industry, without any fixed residence, and unacquainted with those sentiments and obligations which form the first bonds of social union, they are said to have roamed about naked in the forests, with which the country was then covered, more like wild beasts than like men. After they had struggled for several ages with the hardships and calamities which are inevitable in this barbarous state, and when no circumstance seemed to indicate the approach of any uncommon effort towards improvement, we are told that there appeared on the bank of the lake Titicaca, a man and woman of majestic form, and clothed in decent garments. They declared themselves to be children of the Sun, sent by their beneficent parent, who beheld with pity the miseries of the human race, to instruct and to reclaim them. At their persuasion, enforced by reverence for the divinity in whose name they were supposed to speak, several of the dispersed savages united together, and receiving their commands as heavenly injunctions, followed them to Cuzco, where they settled, and began to lay the foundations of a city.

Manco Capac and Mama Ocollo, for such were the names of those extraordinary personages, having thus collected some wandering tribes, formed that social union, which, by multiplying the desires, and uniting the efforts of the human species, excites industry, and leads to improve-

ment. Manco Capac instructed the men in agriculture, and other useful arts. Mama Ocollo taught the women to spin and to weave. By the labour of the one sex, subsistence became less precarious; by that of the other, life was rendered more comfortable. After securing the objects of first necessity in an infant state, by providing food, raiment, and inhabitations, for the rude people of whom he took charge, Manco Capac turned his attention towards introducing such laws and policy as might perpetuate their happiness. By his institutions, which shall be more particularly explained hereafter, the various relations in private life were established, and the duties resulting from them prescribed with such propriety, as gradually formed a barbarous people to decency of manners. In publick administration, the functions of persons in authority were so precisely defined, and the subordination of those under their jurisdiction maintained with such a steady hand, that the society in which he presided, soon assumed the aspect of a regular and well governed state.

Thus, according to the Indian tradition, was founded the empire of the Incas or Lords of Peru. At first, its extent was small. The territory of Manco Capac did not reach above eight leagues from Cuzco. But within its narrow precincts he exercised absolute and uncontrolled authority. His successors, as their dominions expanded, arrogated a similar jurisdiction over their subjects: the despotism of Asia was not more complete. The Incas were not only obeyed as monarchs, but revered as divinities. Their blood was held to be

sacred, and, by prohibiting intermarriages with the people, was never contaminated by mixing with that of any other race. The family, thus separated from the rest of the nation, was distinguished by peculiarities in dress and ornaments, which it was unlawful for others to assume. The monarch himself appeared with ensigns of royalty reserved for him alone; and received from his subjects marks, of obsequious homage and respect, which approached almost to adoration.

But, among the Peruvians, this unbounded power of their monarchs seems to have been uniformly accompanied with attention to the good of their subjects. It was not the rage of conquest, if we may believe the accounts of their countrymen, that prompted the Incas to extend their dominions, but the desire of diffusing the blessings of civilization, and the knowledge of the arts which they possessed, among the barbarous people whom they reduced. During a succession of twelve monarchs, it is said that not one deviated from this beneficent character. t)

When the Spaniards first visited the coast of Peru, in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty six, Huana Capac, the twelfth monarch from the founder of the state, was seated on the throne. He is represented as a prince distinguished not only for the pacifick virtues peculiar to the race, but eminent for his martial talents. By his victorious arms the kingdom of Quito was subjected, a con-

B 2

t) Cieca de Leon, Chron. c. 44. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 4. dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 17.

quest of such extent and importance as almost doubled the power of the Peruvian empire. He was fond of residing in the capital of that valuable province, which he had added to his dominions; and, notwithstanding the ancient and fundamental law of the monarchy against polluting the royal blood by any foreign alliance, he married the daughter of the vanquished monarch of Quito. She bore him a son named Atahualpa, whom, on his death at Quito, which seems to have happened about the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-nine, he appointed his successor in that kingdom, leaving the rest of his dominions to Huascar, his eldest son, by a mother of the royal race. Greatly as the Peruvians revered the memory of a monarch who had reigned with more reputation and splendour than any of his predecessors, the destination of Huana Capac concerning the succession, appeared so repugnant to a maxim coeval with the empire, and founded on authority deemed sacred, that it was no sooner known at Cuzco than it excited general disgust. Encouraged by those sentiments of his subjects, Huascar required his brother to renounce the government of Quito, and to acknowledge him as his lawful superior. But it had been the first care of Atahualpa to gain a large body of troops which had accompanied his father to Quito. These were the flower of the Peruvian warriors, to whose valour Huana Capac had been indebted for all his victories. Relying on their support, Atahualpa first eluded his brother's demand, and then marched against him in hostile array.

Thus the ambition of two young men, the title of the one founded on ancient usage, and that of the other asserted by the veteran troops, involved Peru in civil war, a calamity to which, under a succession of virtuous princes, it had hitherto been a stranger. In such a contest the issue was obvious. The force of arms triumphed over the authority of laws. Atahualpa remained victorious, and made a cruel use of his victory. Conscious of the defect in his own title to the crown, he attempted to exterminate the royal race, by putting to death all the children of the Sun descended from Manco Capac, whom he could seize either by force or stratagem. From a political motive, the life of his unfortunate rival Huascar, who had been taken prisoner in the battle which decided the fate of the empire, was prolonged for some time, that, by issuing orders in his name, the usurper might more easily establish his own authority. u)

Favourable to the progress of Pizarro.

When Pizarro landed in the bay of St. Matthew, this civil war raged between the two brothers in its greatest fury. Had he made any hostile attempt in his former visit to Peru in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, he must then have encountered the force of a powerful state, united under a monarch, possessed of capacity as well as courage, and unembarrassed with any care that could divert him from opposing his progress. But at this time, the two competitors,

u) Zarate, lib. i. c. 15. Vega, I. lib. ix. c. 12 and 32-40. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 2. lib. iii. c. 17.

though they received early accounts of the arrival and violent proceedings of the Spaniards, were so intent upon the operations of a war, which they deemed more interesting, that they paid no attention to the motions of an enemy, too inconsiderable in number to excite any great alarm, and to whose career, it would be easy, as they imagined, to give a check when more at leisure.

He avails himself of it, and advances.

By this fortunate coincidence of events, whereof Pizarro could have no foresight, and of which, from his defective mode of intercourse with the people of the country, he remained long ignorant, he was permitted to carry on his operations unmolested, and advanced to the centre of a great empire before one effort of its power was exerted to stop his career. During their progress, the Spaniards had acquired some imperfect knowledge of this struggle between the two contending factions. The first complete information, with respect to it, they received from messengers whom Huascar sent to Pizarro, in order to solicit his aid against Atahualpa, whom he represented as a rebel and an usurper. u) Pizarro perceived at once the importance of this intelligence, and foresaw so clearly all the advantages which might be derived from this divided state of the kingdom, which he had invaded, that, without waiting for the reinforcement which he expected from Panama, he determined to push forward, while intestine discord put it out of the power of the Peruvians to attack him with their whole force, and while, by

u) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 3.

taking part, as circumstances should incline him, with one of the competitors, he might be enabled with greater ease to crush both. Enterprising as the Spaniards of that age were, in all their operations against Americans, and distinguished as Pizarro was among his countrymen for daring courage, we can hardly suppose, that after having proceeded hitherto slowly, and with much caution, he would have changed at once his system of operation, and have ventured upon a measure so hazardous, without some new motive or prospect to justify it.

State of his forces.

As he was obliged to divide his troops, in order to leave a garrison in St. Michael, sufficient to defend a station of equal importance as a place of retreat in case of any disaster, and as a port for receiving any supplies which should come from Panama, he began his march with a very slender and ill-accounted train of followers. They consisted of sixty-two horsemen, x) and a hundred and two foot-soldiers, of whom twenty were armed with cross-bows, and three with muskets. He directed his course towards Caxamalca, a small town at the distance of twelve days march from St. Michael, where Atahualpa was encamped with a considerable body of troops. Before he had proceeded far, an officer dispatched by the Inca, met him with a valuable present from that prince, accompanied with a proffer of his alliance, and assurances of a friendly reception at Caxamalca. Pizarro, according to the usual artifice of his countrymen in

x) See NOTE IV.

America, pretended to come as the ambassador of a very powerful monarch, and declared that he was now advancing with an intention to offer Atahualpa his aid against those enemies who disputed his title to the throne. y)

Ideas of the Peruvians concerning their designs.

As the object of the Spaniards in entering their country was altogether incomprehensible to the Peruvians, they had formed various conjectures concerning it, without being able to decide whether they should consider their new guests as beings of a superior nature, who had visited them from some beneficent motive, or as formidable avengers of their crimes, and enemies to their repose and liberty. The continual professions of the Spaniards, that they came to enlighten them with the knowledge of truth, and lead them in the way of happiness, favoured the former opinion; the outrages which they committed, their rapaciousness and cruelty, were awful confirmations of the latter. While in this state of uncertainty, Pizarro's declaration of his pacifick intentions so far removed all the Inca's fears, that he determined to give him a friendly reception. In consequence of this resolution, the Spaniards were allowed to march in tranquillity across the sandy desert between St. Michael and Motupè, where the most feeble effort of an enemy, added to the unavoidable distresses which they suffered in passing through that comfortless region, must have proved fatal to them. z) From Motupè they advanced towards the moun-

y) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. 1. c. 3. Xerez, p. 189.

z) See NOTE V.

tains which encompassed the low country of Peru, and passed through a defile so narrow and inaccessible, that a few men might have defended it against a numerous army. But here likewise, from the same inconsiderate credulity of the Inca, the Spaniards met with no opposition and took quiet possession of a fort erected for the security of that important station. As they now approached near to Caxamalca, Atahualpa renewed his professions of friendship; and as an evidence of their sincerity, sent them presents of greater value than the former.

Arrive at Caxamalca.

On entering Caxamalca, Pizarro took possession of a large court, on one side of which was a house which the Spanish historians call a palace of the Inca, and on the other a temple of the Sun, the whole surrounded with a strong rampart or wall of earth. When he had posted his troops in this advantageous station, he dispatched Hernan de Soto, and his brother Ferdinand, to the camp of Atahualpa, which was about a league distant from the town. He instructed them to confirm the declaration which he had formerly made of his pacific disposition, and to desire an interview with the Inca, that he might explain more fully the intention of the Spaniards in visiting his country. They were treated with all the respectful hospitality usual among the Peruvians in the reception of their most cordial friends, and Atahualpa promised to visit the Spanish commander next day in his quarters. The decent deportment of the Peruvian monarch, the order of his court, and the reverence

with which his subjects approached his person and obeyed his commands, astonished those Spaniards, who had never met in America with any thing more dignified than the petty cazique of a barbarous tribe. But their eyes were still more powerfully attracted by the vast profusion of wealth which they observed in the Inca's camp. The rich ornaments worn by him and his attendants, the vessels of gold and silver in which the repast offered to them was served up, the multitude of utensils of every kind formed of those precious metals, opened prospects far exceeding any idea of opulence that a European of the sixteenth century could form.

Perfidious scheme of Pizarro.

On their return to Caxamalca, while their minds were yet warm with admiration and desire of the wealth which they had beheld, they gave such a description of it to their countrymen, as confirmed Pizarro in a resolution which he had already taken. From his own observation of American manners during his long service in the New World, as well as from the advantages which Cortes had derived from seizing Montezuma, he knew of what consequence it was to have the Inca in his power. For this purpose, he formed a plan as daring as it was perfidious. Notwithstanding the character he had assumed of an ambassador from a powerful monarch, who courted an alliance with the Inca, and in violation of the repeated offers which he had made to him of his own friendship and assistance, he determined to avail himself of the unsuspecting simplicity with which Atahualpa

relied on his professions, and to seize the person of the Inca during the interview to which he had invited him. He prepared for the execution of his scheme with the same deliberate arrangement, and with as little compunction, as if it had reflected no disgrace on himself or his country. He divided his cavalry into three small squadrons, under the command of his brother Ferdinand, Soto, and Benalcazar; his infantry were formed in one body, except twenty of most tried courage, whom he kept near his own person to support him in the dangerous service which he reserved for himself; the artillery, consisting of two field-pieces a) and the cross-bowmen, were placed opposite to the avenue by which Atahualpa was to approach. All were commanded to keep within the square, and not to move until the signal for action was given.

Visited by the Inca.

Early in the morning (Nov. 16. 1532.) the Peruvian camp was all in motion. But as Atahualpa was solicitous to appear with the greatest splendour and magnificence in his first interview with the strangers, the preparation for this were so tedious, that the day was far advanced before he began his march. Even then, lest the order of the procession should be deranged, he moved so slowly, that the Spaniards became impatient and apprehensive that some suspicion of their intention might be the cause of this delay. In order to remove this, Pizarro dispatched one of his officers with fresh assurances of his friendly disposition: At length the Inca approached. First

a) Xerez, p. 194.

of all appeared four hundred men, in an uniform dress, as harbingers to clear the way before him. He himself, sitting on a throne or couch, adorned with plumes of various colours, and almost covered with plates of gold and silver enriched with precious stones, was carried on the shoulders of his principal attendants. Behind him came some chief officers of his court, carried in the same manner. Several bands of singers and dancers accompanied this cavalcade; and the whole plain was covered with troops, amounting to more than thirty thousand men.

Strange harangue of father Valverde.

As the Inca drew near the Spanish quarters, father Vincent Valverde, chaplain to the expedition, advanced with a crucifix in one hand, and a breviary in the other, and in a long discourse explained to him the doctrine of the creation, the fall of Adam, the incarnation, the sufferings and resurrection of Jesus Christ, the appointment of St. Peter as God's viceroy on earth, the transmission of his apostolical power by succession to the popes, the donation made to the king of Castile by pope Alexander of all the regions in the New World. In consequence of all this, he required Atahualpa to embrace the Christian faith, to acknowledge the supreme jurisdiction of the pope, and to submit to the king of Castile as his lawful sovereign; promising, if he complied instantly with this requisition, that the Castilian monarch would protect his dominions, and permit him to continue in the exercise of his royal authority; but if he should impiously refuse to obey this summons, he

denounced war against him in his master's name, and threatened him with the most dreadful effects of his vengeance.

Reply of the Inca.

This strange harangue, unfolding deep mysteries, and alluding to unknown facts, of which no power of eloquence could have conveyed at once a distinct idea to an American, was so lamely translated by an unskilful interpreter, little acquainted with the idiom of the Spanish tongue, and incapable of expressing himself with propriety in the language of the Inca, that its general tenor was altogether incomprehensible to Atahualpa. Some parts in it, of more obvious meaning, filled him with astonishment and indignation. His reply, however, was temperate. He began with observing, that he was lord of the dominions over which he reigned by hereditary succession; and added, that he could not conceive how a foreign priest should pretend to dispose of territories which did not belong to him; that if such a preposterous grant had been made, he, who was the rightful possessor, refused to confirm it; that he had no inclination to renounce the religious institutions established by his ancestors; nor would he forsake the service of the Sun, the immortal divinity whom he and his people revered, in order to worship the God of the Spaniards, who was subject to death; that with respect to other matters contained in his discourse, as he had never heard of them before, and did not now understand their meaning, he desired to know where the priest had learned things so extraordinary. „ In this book, “

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answered Valverde, reaching out to him his breviary. The Inca opened it eagerly, and turning over the leaves, lifted it to his ear: „ This, “ says he, „ is silent; it tells me nothing; “ and threw it with disdain to the ground. The enraged monk, running towards his countrymen, cried out. „ To arms, Christians, to arms; the word of God is insulted; avenge this profanation on those impious dogs. “ b)

Pizarro attacks the Peruvians, and seizes the Inca.

Pizarro, who, during this long conference, had with difficulty restrained his soldiers, eager to seize the rich spoils of which they had now so near a view, immediately gave the signal of assault. At once the martial musick struck up, the cannon and muskets began to fire, the horse sallied out fiercely to the charge, the infantry rushed on, sword in hand. The Peruvians, astonished at the suddenness of an attack which they did not expect, and dismayed with the destructive effects of the fire-arms, and the irresistible impression of the cavalry, fled with universal consternation on every side, without attempting either to annoy the enemy, or to defend themselves. Pizarro, at the head of his chosen band, advanced directly towards the Inca; and though his nobles crowded around him with officious zeal, and fell in numbers at his feet, while they vied one with another in sacrificing their own lives, that they might cover the sacred person of their sovereign, the Spaniards soon penetrated to the royal seat; and Pizarro seizing the Inca by the arm, dragged him to the ground, and carried

b) See NOTE VI.

him as a prisoner to his quarters. The fate of the monarch increased the precipitate flight of his followers. The Spaniards pursued them towards every quarter, and with deliberate and unrelenting barbarity continued to slaughter wretched fugitives, who never once offered to resist. The carnage did not cease until the close of day. Above four thousand Peruvians were killed. Not a single Spaniard fell, nor was one wounded but Pizarro himself, whose hand was slightly hurt by one of his own soldiers, while struggling eagerly to lay hold on the Inca. c)

The plunder of the field was rich beyond any idea which the Spaniards had yet formed concerning the wealth of Peru, and they were so transported with the value of the acquisition, as well as the greatness of their success, that they passed the night in the extravagant exultation natural to indigent adventurers on such an extraordinary change of fortune.

Dejection of the Inca.

At first the captive monarch could hardly believe a calamity which he so little expected to be real. But he soon felt all the misery of his fate, and the dejection into which he sunk was in proportion to the height of grandeur from which he had fallen. Pizarro, afraid of losing all the advantages which he hoped to derive from the possession of such a prisoner, laboured to console him with professions of kindness and respect, that corresponded ill with his actions. By residing among the Spaniards, the Inca quickly discovered their

c) See NOTE VII.

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ruling passion, which, indeed, they were nowise solicitous to conceal, and by applying to that, made an attempt to recover his liberty.

His offer of a ransom,

He offered as a ransom what astonished the Spaniards, even after all they now knew concerning the opulence of his kingdom. The apartment in which he was confined was twenty-two feet in length and sixteen in breadth; he undertook to fill it with vessels of gold as high as he could reach. Pizarro closed eagerly with this tempting proposal, and a line was drawn upon the walls of the chamber, to mark the stipulated height to which the treasure was to rise.

Atahualpa, transported with having obtained some prospect of liberty, took measures instantly for fulfilling his part of the agreement, by sending messengers to Cuzco, Quito, and other places, where gold had been amassed in largest quantities, either for adorning the temples of their gods, or the houses of the Inca, to bring what was necessary for completing his ransom directly to Caxamalca. Though Atahualpa was now in the custody of his enemies, yet so much were the Peruvians accustomed to respect every mandate issued by their sovereign, that his orders were executed with the greatest alacrity. Soothed with hopes of recovering his liberty by this means, the subjects of the Inca were

were afraid of endangering his life by forming any other scheme for his relief; and though the force of the empire was still entire, no preparations were made, and no army assembled to avenge their own wrongs or those of their monarch. d)

The Spaniards visit different provinces.

The Spaniards remained in Caxamalca tranquil and unmolested. Small detachments of their number marched into remote provinces of the empire, and, instead of meeting with any opposition, were every where received with marks of the most submissive respect. e)

Almagro arrives with a reinforcement.

Inconsiderable as those parties were, and desirous as Pizarro might be to obtain some knowledge of the interior state of the country, he could not have ventured upon any diminution of his main body, if he had not about this time (Dec. 1532.) received an account of Almagro's having landed at St. Michael with such a reinforcement as would almost double the number of his followers. f) The arrival of this long expected succour was not more agreeable to the Spaniards, than alarming to the Inca. He saw the power of his enemies increase; and as he knew neither the source whence they derived their

d) Xeres, 205.

e) See NOTE VIII.

f) Xeres, 204, Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 1, 2.

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supplies, nor the means by which they were conveyed to Peru, he could not foresee to what a height the inundation that poured in upon his dominions might rise.

Huascar put to death, 1533.

While disquieted with such apprehensions, he learned that some Spaniards, in their way to Cuzco, had visited his brother Huascar in the place where he kept him confined, and that the captive prince had represented to them the justice of his own cause, and as an inducement to espouse it, had promised them a quantity of treasure vastly exceeding what Atahualpa had engaged to pay for his ransom. If the Spaniards should listen to this proposal, Atahualpa perceived his own destruction to be inevitable; and suspecting that their insatiable thirst for gold would tempt them to lend a favourable ear to it, he determined to sacrifice his brother's life, that he might save his own; and his orders for this purpose were executed, like all his other commands, with scrupulous punctuality. g)

The Spaniards make a division of the spoil.

Meanwhile, Indians daily arrived at Caxamalca from different parts of the kingdom, loaded with treasure. A great part of the stipulated quantity was now amassed, and Atahualpa af-

g) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gomara Hist. c. 115. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 2.

fured the Spaniards, that the only thing which prevented the whole from being brought in, was the remoteness of the provinces where it was deposited. But such vast piles of gold, presented continually to the view of needy soldiers, had so inflamed their avarice, that it was impossible any longer to restrain their impatience to obtain possession of this rich booty. Orders were given for melting down the whole, except some pieces of curious fabrick, reserved as a present for the emperor. After setting apart the fifth due to the crown, and a hundred thousand pesos as a donative to the soldiers which arrived with Almagro, there remained one million five hundred and twenty-eight thousand five hundred pesos to Pizarro and his followers. The festival of St. James, (July 25. 1533.) the patron saint of Spain, was the day chosen for the partition of this vast sum, and the manner of conducting it strongly marks that strange alliance of fanaticism with avarice, which I have more than once had occasion to point out as a striking feature in the character of the conquerors of the New World. Though assembled to divide the spoils of an innocent people, procured by deceit, extortion, and cruelty; the transaction began with a solemn invocation of the name of God, h) as if they could have

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h) Herrera dec. 6, lib. iii. c. 3.

expected the guidance of Heaven in distributing those wages of iniquity. In this division above eight thousand pesos, at that time not inferior in effective value to as many pounds Sterling in the present century, fell to the share of each horseman, and half that sum to each foot soldier. Pizarro himself, and his officers received dividends in proportion to the dignity of their rank.

The effect of it.

There is no example in history of such a sudden acquisition of wealth by military service, nor was ever a sum so great divided among so small a number of soldiers. Many of them having received a recompence for their services far beyond their most sanguine hopes, were so impatient to retire from fatigue and danger, in order to spend the remainder of their days in their native country, in ease and opulence, that they demanded their discharge with clamorous importunity. Pizarro, sensible that from such men he could expect neither enterprise in action nor fortitude in suffering, and persuaded that wherever they went, the display of their riches would allure adventurers, less opulent but more hardy, to his standard, granted their suit without reluctance, and permitted above sixty of them to accompany his brother Ferdinand, whom he sent to Spain with an account of his

success, and the present destined for the emperor. i)

The Inca demands his liberty in vain.

The Spaniards having divided among them the treasure amassed for the Inca's ransom, he insisted with them to fulfil their promise of setting him at liberty. But nothing was farther from Pizarro's thoughts. During his long service in the New World, he had imbibed those ideas and maxims of his fellow-soldiers, which led them to consider its inhabitants as an inferior race, neither worthy of the name, nor intitled to the rights, of men. In his compact with Atahualpa, he had no other object than to amuse his captive with such a prospect of recovering his liberty, as might induce him to lend all the aid of his authority towards collecting the wealth of his kingdom. Having now accomplished this, he no longer regarded his plighted faith; and at the very time when the credulous prince hoped to be replaced on his throne, he had secretly resolved to bereave him of life. Many circumstances seem to have concurred in prompting him to this action, the most criminal and atrocious that stains the Spanish name, amidst all the deeds of violence committed in carrying on the conquest of the New World.

i) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 38.

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He and the Spaniards mutually jealous.

Though Pizarro had seized the Inca, in imitation of Cortes's conduct towards the Mexican monarch, he did not possess talents for carrying on the same artful plan of policy. Destitute of the temper and address requisite for gaining the confidence of his prisoner, he never reaped all the advantages which might have been derived from being master of his person and authority. Atahualpa was, indeed, a prince of greater abilities and discernment than Montezuma, and seems to have penetrated more thoroughly into the character and intentions of the Spaniards. Mutual suspicion and distrust accordingly took place between them. The strict attention with which it was necessary to guard a captive of such importance, greatly increased the fatigue of military duty. The utility of keeping him appeared inconsiderable; and Pizarro felt him as an incumbrance, from which he wished to be delivered. k)

Almagro and his followers demand his life.

Almagro and his followers had made a demand of an equal share in the Inca's ransom; and though Pizarro had bestowed upon the private men the large gratuity which I have mentioned, and endeavoured to soothe their leader by presents of great value, they still continued

k) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iiii. c. 4.

dissatisfied. They were apprehensive, that as long as Atahualpa remained a prisoner, Pizarro's soldiers would apply whatever treasure should be acquired, to make up what was wanting of the quantity stipulated for his ransom, and under that pretext exclude them from any part of it. They insisted eagerly on putting the Inca to death, that all the adventurers in Peru might thereafter be on an equal footing. 1)

Motives which induced Pizarro to consent.

Pizarro himself began to be alarmed with accounts of forces assembling in the remote provinces of the empire, and suspected Atahualpa of having issued orders for that purpose. These fears and suspicions were artfully increased by Philippillo, one of the Indians whom Pizarro had carried off from Tumbez in the year one thousand five hundred and twenty-seven, and whom he employed as an interpreter. The function which he performed admitting this man to familiar intercourse with the captive monarch, he presumed, notwithstanding the meanness of his birth, to raise his affections to a Coya, or descendent of the Sun, one of Atahualpa's wives; and seeing no prospect of gratifying that passion during the life of the monarch, he endeavoured to fill the ears of the

1) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Vega, p. 2. lib. i. c. 7. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

Spaniards with such accounts of the Inca's secret designs and preparations, as might awaken their jealousy, and incite them to cut him off.

While Almagro and his followers openly demanded the life of the Inca, and Philippillo laboured to ruin him by private machinations, that unhappy prince inadvertently contributed to hasten his own fate. During his confinement he had attached himself with peculiar affection to Ferdinand Pizarro and Hernando Soto; who, as they were persons of birth and education superior to the rough adventurers with whom they served, were accustomed to behave with more decency and attention to the captive monarch. Soothed with this respect from persons of such high rank, he delighted in their society. But in the presence of the governor he was uneasy, and overawed. This dread soon came to be mingled with contempt. Among all the European arts, what he admired most was that of reading and writing; and he long deliberated with himself, whether he should regard it as a natural or acquired talent. In order to determine this, he desired one of the soldiers, who guarded him, to write the name of God on the nail of his thumb. This he shewed successively to several Spaniards, asking its meaning; and to his amazement, they all, without hesitation, returned the same answer. At length Pizarro entered; and on presenting it to him, he blushed, and with some confusion was obliged to

acknowledge his ignorance. From that moment, Atahualpa considered him as a mean person, less instructed than his own soldiers; and he had not address enough to conceal the sentiments with which this discovery inspired him. To be the object of a barbarian's scorn, not only mortified the pride of Pizarro, but excited such resentment in his breast, as added force to all the other considerations which prompted him to put the Inca to death. m)

His trial.

But in order to give some colour of justice to this violent action, and that he himself might be exempted from standing singly responsible for the commission of it, Pizarro resolved to try the Inca with all the formalities observed in the criminal courts of Spain. Pizarro himself, and Almagro, with two assistants, were appointed judges, with full power to acquit or to condemn; an attorney-general was named to carry on the prosecution in the king's name; counsellors were chosen to assist the prisoner in his defence; and clerks were ordained to record the proceedings of court. Before this strange tribunal, a charge was exhibited still more amazing. It consisted of various articles; that Atahualpa, though a bastard, had dispossessed the rightful owner of the throne, and usurped

m) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 38.

the regal power; that he had put his brother and lawful sovereign to death; that he was an idolater, and had not only permitted, but commanded the offering of human sacrifices; that he had a great number of concubines; that since his imprisonment he had wasted and embezzled the royal treasures, which now belonged of right to the conquerors; that he had incited his subjects to take arms against the Spaniards. On these heads of accusation, some of which are so ludicrous, others so absurd, that the effrontery of Pizarro, in making them the foundation of a serious procedure, is not less surprising than his injustice, did the court go on to try the sovereign of a great empire, over whom it had no jurisdiction. With respect to each of the articles, witnesses were examined; but as they delivered their evidence in their native tongue, Philippillo had it in his power to give their words whatever turn best suited his malevolent intentions. To judges predetermined in their opinion, this evidence appeared sufficient.

He is condemned, and executed.

They pronounced Atahualpa guilty, and condemned him to be burnt alive. Friar Valverde prostituted the authority of his sacred function to confirm this sentence, and by his signature warranted it to be just. Astonished at his fate, Atahualpa endeavoured to avert it by tears, by promises, and by entreaties, that

he might be sent to Spain, where a monarch would be the arbiter of his lot. But pity never touched the unfeeling heart of Pizarro. He ordered him to be led instantly to execution; and, what added to the bitterness of his last moments, the same monk who had just ratified his doom, offered to console, and attempt to convert him. The most powerful argument Valverde employed to prevail with him to embrace the Christian faith, was a promise of mitigation in his punishment. The dread of a cruel death extorted from the trembling victim a desire of receiving baptism. The ceremony was performed; and Atahualpa, instead of being burnt, was strangled at the stake. n)

Several Spaniards protest against it.

Happily for the credit of the Spanish nation, even among the profligate adventurers which it sent forth to conquer and desolate the New World, there were persons who retained some tincture of the Castilian generosity and honour. Though, before the trial of Atahualpa, Ferdinand Pizarro had set out for Spain, and Soto was sent on a separate command at a distance from Caxamalca, this odious transaction was not carried on without censure and opposition. Several officers, and among those some of the

n) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 7. Xeres, p. 233. Vega, p. II. lib. i. c. 36, 37. Gomara Hist. c. 117. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4.

greatest reputation and most respectable families in the service, not only remonstrated, but protested against this measure of their general, as disgraceful to their country, as repugnant to every maxim of equity, as a violation of publick faith, and an usurpation of jurisdiction over an independent monarch, to which they had no title. But their endeavours were vain. Numbers, and the opinion of such as held every thing to be lawful which they deemed advantageous, prevailed. History, however, records even the unsuccessful exertions of virtue with applause; and the Spanish writers, in relating events where the valour of their nation is more conspicuous than its humanity have not failed to preserve the names of those who made this landable effort to save their country from the infamy of having perpetrated such a crime. o)

Dissolution of government and order in Peru.

On the death of Atahualpa, Pizarro invested one of his sons with the ensigns of royalty, hoping that a young man without experience might prove a mere passive instrument in his hands, than an ambitious monarch, who had been accustomed to independent command. The people of Cuzco, and the adjacent country, acknowledged Manco Capac, a brother of Huaf-

o) Vega, p. 11. lib. i. c. 37. Xeres, l. 235. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

car, as Inca. p). But neither possessed the authority which belonged to a sovereign of Peru. The violent convulsions into which the empire had been thrown, first by the civil war between the two brothers, and then by the invasion of the Spaniards, had not only deranged the order of the Peruvian government, but almost dissolved its frame. When they beheld their monarch a captive in the power of strangers, and at last suffering an ignominious death, the people in several provinces, as if they had been set free from every restraint of law and decency, broke out into the most licentious excesses. q) So many descendants of the Sun, after being treated with the utmost indignity, had been cut off by Atahualpa, that not only their influence in the state diminished with their number, but the accustomed reverence for that sacred race sensibly decreased. In consequence of this state of things, ambitious men in different parts of the empire aspired to independent authority, and usurped jurisdiction to which they had no title. The general who commanded for Atahualpa in Quito, seized the brother and children of his master, put them to a cruel death, and disclaiming any connection with either Inca, endeavoured to establish a separate kingdom for himself. r)

p) Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 7.

q) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. lib. iij. 5.

r) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 3. 4.

Pizarro advances to Cuzco.

The Spaniards, with pleasure, beheld the spirit of discord diffusing itself, and the vigour of government relaxing among the Peruvians. They considered those disorders as symptoms of a state hastening towards its dissolution. Pizarro no longer hesitated to advance towards Cuzco, and he had received such considerable reinforcements, that he could venture, with little danger, to penetrate so far into the interior part of the country. The account of the wealth acquired at Caxamalca operated as he had foreseen. No sooner did his brother Ferdinand, with the officers and soldiers to whom he had given their discharge after the partition of the Inca's ransom, arrive at Panama, and display their riches in the view of their astonished countrymen, than fame spread the account with such exaggeration through all the Spanish settlements on the South Sea, that the governors of Guatimala, Panama, and Nicaragua, could hardly restrain the people under their jurisdiction, from abandoning their possessions, and crowding to that inexhaustible source of wealth which seemed to be opened in Peru. s) In spite of every check and regulation, such numbers resorted thither, that Pizarro began his march at the head of five hundred men, after leaving a considerable garrison

s) Gomara Hist. c. 125. Vega, p. II. lib. ii. c. I. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 5.

in St. Michael, under the command of Benalcazar. The Peruvians had assembled some large bodies of troops to oppose his progress. Several fierce encounters happened. But they terminated like all the actions in America; a few Spaniards were killed or wounded; the natives were put to flight with incredible slaughter. At length Pizarro forced his way to Cuzco, and took quiet possession of that capital. The riches found there, even after all that the natives had carried off and concealed, either from a superstitious veneration for the ornaments of their temples, or out of hatred to their rapacious conquerors, exceeded in value what had been received as Atahualpa's ransom. But as the Spaniards were now accustomed to the wealth of the country, and it came to be parcelled out among a greater number of adventurers, this dividend did not excite the same surprise either from novelty, or the largeness of the sum that fell to the share of each individual. t)

During the march to Cuzco, that son of Atahualpa whom Pizarro treated as Inca, died, and as the Spaniards substituted no person in his place, the title of Manco Capac seems to have been universally recognized. u)

t) See NOTE IX.

u) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. v. c. 3.

Quito conquered by Benalcazar.

While his fellow-soldiers were thus employed, Benalcazar, governor of St. Michael, an able and enterprising officer, was ashamed of remaining inactive, and impatient to have his name distinguished among the discoverers and conquerors of the New World. The seasonable arrival of a fresh body of recruits from Panama and Nicaragua, put it in his power to gratify his passion. Leaving a sufficient force to protect the infant settlement entrusted to his care, he placed himself at the head of the rest, and set out to attempt the reduction of Quito, where, according to the report of the natives, Atahualpa had left the greatest part of his treasure. Notwithstanding the vast distance of that city from St. Michael, the difficulty of marching through a mountainous country covered with woods, and the frequent and fierce attacks of the best troops in Peru, commanded by a skilful leader, the valour, good conduct, and perseverance of Benalcazar surmounted every obstacle, and he entered Quito with his victorious troops. But they met with a cruel mortification there. The natives now acquainted, to their sorrow, with the predominant passion of their invaders, and knowing how to disappoint it, had carried off all those treasures, the prospect of which had prompted them to undertake this arduous expedition, and had supported them

them under all the dangers and hardships wherewith they had to struggle in carrying it on. x)

Alvarado's expedition.

Benalcazar was not the only Spanish leader who attacked the kingdom of Quito. The fame of its riches attracted a more powerful enemy. Pedro de Alvarado, who had distinguished himself so eminently in the conquest of Mexico, having obtained the government of Guatemala as a recompence for his valour, soon became disgusted with a life of uniform tranquillity, and longed to be again engaged in the bustle of military service. The glory and wealth acquired by the conquerors of Peru heightened this passion, and gave it a determined direction. Believing, or pretending to believe, that the kingdom of Quito did not lie within the limits of the province allotted to Pizarro, he resolved to invade it. The high reputation of the commander allured volunteers from every quarter. He embarked with five hundred men, of whom above two hundred were of such distinction as to serve on horseback. He landed at Puerto Viejo, and without sufficient knowledge of the country, or proper guides to conduct him, attempted to march directly to Quito, by following the course of the river Guay-

x) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 9. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 11, 12. lib. v. c. 2, 3. lib. vi. c. 3.

quil, and crossing the ridge of the Andes towards its head. But in this route, one of the most impracticable in all America, his troops endured such fatigue in forcing their way through forests and marshes on the low grounds, and suffered so much from excessive cold when they began to ascend the mountains, that before they reached the plain of Quito, a fifth part of the men and half of their horses died, and the rest were so much dispirited and worn out, as to be almost unfit for service. y) There they met with a body, not of Indians but of Spaniards, drawn up in hostile array against them. Pizarro having received an account of Alvarado's armament, had detached Almagro with some troops to oppose this formidable invader of his jurisdiction; and these were joined by Benalcazar and his victorious party. Alvarado, though surprised at the sight of enemies whom he did not expect advanced boldly to the charge. But, by the interposition of some moderate men in each party, an amicable accommodation took place; and the fatal period, when Spaniards suspended their conquest to embrue their hands in the blood of their countrymen, was postponed a few years. Alvarado engaged to return to his government, upon Almagro's paying him a hundred thousand pesos to defray the expence of his armament. Most of his followers remained in the country; and an expedition, which

y) See NOTE X.

threatened Pizarro and his colony with ruin, contributed to augment its strength. 2)

Honours conferred on Pizarro and Almagro.

By this time (1534.) Ferdinand Pizarro had landed in Spain. The immense quantities of gold and silver which he imported, a) filled the kingdom with no less astonishment than they had excited in Panama and the adjacent provinces. Pizarro was received by the emperor with the attention due to the bearer of a present so rich, as to exceed any idea which the Spaniards had formed concerning the value of their acquisitions in America, even after they had been ten years masters of Mexico. In recompence of his brother's services, his authority was confirmed with new powers and privileges, and the addition of seventy leagues, extending along the coast, to the southward of the territory granted in his former patent. Almagro received the honours which he had so long desired. The title of Adelantado, or governor, was conferred upon him, with jurisdiction over two hundred leagues of country, stretching beyond the southern limits of the province allotted to Pizarro. Ferdinand himself did not go unrewarded. He was admitted into

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2) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 10-13. Vega, p. 11, lib. ii. c. 1, 2, 9. &c. Gomara Hist. c. 126. &c. Remesal Hist. Guatimal, lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5, lib. vi. c. 1, 2, 7, 8.
a) See NOTE XI,

the military order of St. Jago, a distinction always acceptable to a Spanish gentleman, and soon set out on his return to Peru, accompanied by many persons of higher rank than had yet served in that country. b)

Beginning of dissensions between Pizarro and Almagro.

Some account of his negotiations reached Peru before he arrived there himself. Almagro no sooner learned that he had obtained the royal grant of an independent government, than, pretending that Cuzco, the imperial residence of the Incas, lay within its boundaries, he attempted to render himself master of that important station. Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, prepared to oppose him. Each of the contending parties was supported by powerful adherents, and the dispute was on the point of being terminated by the sword, when Francis Pizarro arrived in the capital. The reconciliation between him and Almagro had never been cordial. The treachery of Pizarro in engrossing to himself all the honours and emoluments, which ought to have been divided with his associate, was always present in both their thoughts. The former, conscious of his own perfidy, did not expect forgiveness; the latter, feeling that he had been deceived, was impatient to be avenged, and though avarice and

b) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Vega, p. II. lib. ii. c. 19. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

ambition had induced them not only to dissemble their sentiments, but even to act in concert while in pursuit of wealth and power, no sooner did they obtain possession of these, than the same passions which had formed this temporary union, gave rise to jealousy and discord. To each of them was attached a small band of interested dependents, who, with the malicious art peculiar to such men, heightened their suspicions, and magnified every appearance of offence. But with all those seeds of enmity in their minds, and thus assiduously cherished, each was so thoroughly acquainted with the abilities and courage of his rival, that they equally dreaded the consequences of an open rupture. The fortunate arrival of Pizarro at Cuzco, and the address mingled with firmness which he manifested in his expostulations with Almagro and his partizans, averted that evil for the present. A new reconciliation took place; the chief article of which was, that Almagro should attempt the conquest of Chili; and if he did not find in that province an establishment adequate to his merit and expectations, Pizarro, by way of indemnification, should yield up to him a part of Peru. This new agreement, though confirmed (June 12. 1534.) with the same sacred solemnities as their first contract, was observed with as little fidelity. c)

c) Zarate, lib. ii. c. 13. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 19. Benzo. lib. iii. c. 6. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vii. c. 8.

Regulations of Pizarro.

Soon after he concluded this important transaction, Pizarro marched back to the countries on the sea-coast, and as he now enjoyed an interval of tranquillity, undisturbed by any enemy, either Spanish or Indian, he applied himself with that persevering ardour, which distinguished his character, to introduce a form of regular government into the extensive provinces subject to his authority. Though ill qualified by his education to enter into any disquisition concerning the principles of civil policy, and little accustomed by his former habits of life to attend to its arrangements, his natural sagacity supplied the want both of science and experience. He distributed the country into various districts; he appointed proper magistrates to preside in each; and established regulations concerning the administration of justice, the collection of the royal revenue, the working of the mines, and the treatment of the Indians, extremely simple, but well calculated to promote the public prosperity. But though, for the present, he adapted his plan to the infant state of his colony, his aspiring mind looked forward to its future grandeur. He considered himself as laying the foundation of a great empire, and deliberated long, and with much solicitude, in what place he should fix the seat of government.

Foundation of Lima.

Cuzco, the imperial city of the Incas, was situated in a corner of the empire, above four hundred miles from the sea, and much farther from Quito, a province of whose value he had formed an high idea. No other settlement of the Peruvians was so considerable as to merit the name of a town, or to allure the Spaniards to fix their residence in it. But, in marching through the country, Pizarro had been struck with the beauty and fertility of the valley of Rimac, one of the most extensive and best cultivated in Peru. There, on the banks of a small river, of the same name with the vale which it waters and enriches, at the distance of six miles from Callao, the most commodious harbour in the pacifick Ocean, he founded a city which he destined to be the capital of his government. He gave it the name of Ciudad de los Reyes, either from the circumstance of having laid the first stone, at that season (January 18. 1535.) when the church celebrates the festival of the Three Kings, or, as is more probable, in honour of Juana and Charles, the sovereigns of Castile. This name it still retains among the the Spaniards, in all legal and formal deeds, but it is better known to foreigners by that of Lima, a corruption of the ancient appellation of the valley in which it is situated. Under his inspection, the buildings advanced with such rapidity, that it soon assumed the form of a city, which, by a ma-

gnificent palace that he erected for himself, and by the stately houses built by several of his officers, gave, even in its infancy, some indication of its subsequent grandeur. d)

Almagro invades Chili.

In consequence of what had been agreed with Pizarro, Almagro began his march towards Chili; and as he possessed in an eminent degree the virtues most admired by soldiers, boundless liberality and fearless courage, his standard was followed by five hundred and seventy men, the greatest body of Europeans that had hitherto been assembled in Peru. From impatience to finish the expedition, or from that contempt of hardship and danger acquired by all the Spaniards who had served long in America, Almagro, instead of advancing along the level country on the coast, chose to march across the mountains by a route that was shorter indeed, but almost impracticable. In this attempt his troops were exposed to every calamity which men can suffer, from fatigue, from famine, and from the rigour of the climate in those elevated regions of the torrid zone, where the degree of cold is hardly inferior to what is felt within the polar circle. Many of them perished, and the

d) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 12. lib. vii. c. 13. Calancha Cronica, lib. i. c. 37. Barneuevo, Lima fundata, li. 294.

survivors, when they descended into the fertile plains of Chili, had new difficulties to encounter. They found there a race of men very different from the people of Peru, intrepid, hardy, independent, and in their bodily constitution, as well as vigour of spirit, nearly resembling the warlike tribes in North America. Though filled with wonder at the first appearance of the Spaniards, and still more astonished at the operations of their cavalry and the effects of their fire arms, the Chilese soon recovered so far from their surprize, as not only to defend themselves with obstinacy, but to attack their new enemies with more determined fierceness than any American nation had hitherto discovered. The Spaniards, however, continued to penetrate into the country, and collected some considerable quantities of gold; but were so far from thinking of making any settlement amidst such formidable neighbours, that, in spite of all the experience and valour of their leader, the final issue of the expedition still remained extremely dubious, when they were recalled from it by an unexpected revolution in Peru. e) The causes of this important event I shall endeavour to trace to their source.

e) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 1. Gomara Hist. c. 131. Vega, p. 11, lib. ii. c. 20. Ovalle, Hist. de Chile, lib. iv. c. 15. &c. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 9. lib. x. c. 1, &c.

An insurrection of the Peruvians. Its rise,

So many adventurers had flocked to Peru from every Spanish colony in America, and all with such high expectations of accumulating independent fortunes at once, that, to men possessed with notions so extravagant, any mention of acquiring wealth gradually, and by schemes of patient industry, would have been not only a disappointment, but an insult. In order to find occupation for men who could not with safety be allowed to remain inactive, Pizarro encouraged some of the most distinguished officers who had lately joined him, to invade different provinces of the empire, which the Spaniards had not hitherto visited. Several large bodies were formed for this purpose; and about the time that Almagro set out for Chili, they marched into remote districts of the country. No sooner did Manco Capac, the Inca, observe the inconsiderate security of the Spaniards in thus dispersing their troops, and that only a handful of soldiers remained in Cuzco, under Juan and Gonzalez Pizarro, than he thought that the happy period was at length come for vindicating his own rights, avenging the wrongs of his country, and extirpating its oppressors. Though strictly watched by the Spaniards, who allowed him to reside in the palace of his ancestors at Cuzco, he found means of communicating his scheme to the persons who were to be entrusted with the execution of it. Among

people accustomed to revere their sovereign as a divinity, every hint of his will carries the authority of a command; and they themselves were now convinced, by the daily increase in the number of their invaders, that the fond hopes which they had long entertained of their voluntary departure were altogether vain. All perceived that a vigorous effort of the whole nation was requisite to expel them, and the preparations for it were carried on with the secrecy and silence peculiar to Americans.

and progress.

After some unsuccessful attempts of the Inca to make his escape, Ferdinand Pizarro happening to arrive at that time (1536.) in Cuzco, he obtained permission from him to attend a great festival which was to be celebrated a few leagues from the capital. Under pretext of that solemnity, the great men of the empire were assembled. As soon as the Inca joined them, the standard of war was erected; and in a short time all the fighting men, from the confines of Quito to the frontier of Chili, were in arms. Many Spaniards living securely on the settlements allotted them, were massacred. Several detachments, as they marched carelessly through a country which seemed to be tamely submissive to their dominion, were cut off to a man. An army amounting (if we may believe the Spanish writers) to two hundred

thousand men, attacked Cuzco, which the three brothers endeavoured to defend with only one hundred and seventy Spaniards. Another formidable body invested Lima, and kept the governor closely shut up. There was no longer any communication between the two cities; the numerous forces of the Peruvians spreading over the country intercepted every messenger; and as the parties in Cuzco and Lima were equally unacquainted with the fate of their countrymen, each boded the worst concerning the other, and imagined that they themselves were only persons who had survived the general extinction of the Spanish name in Peru. d)

Siege of Cuzco.

It was at Cuzco, where the Inca commanded in person, that the Peruvians made their chief effort. During nine months they carried on the siege with incessant ardour, and in various forms; and though they displayed not the same undaunted ferocity as the Mexican warriors, they conducted some of their operations in a manner which discovered greater sagacity, and a genius more susceptible of improvement in the military art. They not only observed the advantages which the Spaniards

d) Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 28. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 3. Cieca de Leon, c. 82. Gomara Hist. c. 135. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

derived from their discipline and their weapons, but they endeavoured to imitate the former, and turn the latter against them. They armed a considerable body of their bravest warriors with the swords, the spears, and bucklers, which they had taken from the Spanish soldiers whom they had cut off in different parts of the country. These they endeavoured to marshal in that regular compact order, to which experience had taught them that the Spaniards were indebted for their irresistible force in action. Some appeared in the field with Spanish muskets, and had acquired skill and resolution enough to use them. A few of the boldest, among whom was the Inca himself, were mounted on the horses which they had taken, and advanced briskly to the charge like Spanish cavaliers, with their lances in the rest. It was more by their numbers, however, than by those imperfect essays to imitate European arts and employ European arms, that the Peruvians annoyed the Spaniards. e) In spite of the valour, heightened by despair, with which the three brothers defended Cuzco, Manco Capac recovered possession of one half of his capital, and before the Spaniards could drive him out of it, they lost Juan Pizarro, the best beloved of all the brothers, together with some other persons of note. Worn out with the

e) See NOTE XII.

fatigue of incessant duty, distressed with want of provisions, and despairing of being able any longer to resist an enemy whose numbers daily increased, the soldiers became impatient to abandon Cuzco, in hopes either of joining their countrymen, if any of them yet survived, or of forcing their way to the sea, and finding some means of escaping from a country which had been so fatal to the Spanish name. f) While they were brooding over those desponding thoughts which their officers laboured in vain to dispel, Almagro appeared suddenly in the neighbourhood of Cuzco.

Arrival of Almagro, and motives of his conduct.

The accounts transmitted to Almagro concerning the general insurrection of the Peruvians, were such as would have induced him, without hesitation to relinquish the conquest of Chili, and hasten to the aid of his countrymen. But in this resolution he was confirmed by a motive less generous, but more interesting. By the same messenger who brought him intelligence of the Inca's revolt, he received the royal patent creating him governor of Chili, and defining the limits of his jurisdiction. Upon considering the tenor of it, he deemed it manifest beyond contradiction, that Cuzco lay within the boundaries of his government, and he

f) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4.

was equally solicitous to prevent the Peruvians from recovering possession of their capital, and to wrest it out of the hands of the Pizarros. From impatience to accomplish both, he ventured to return by a new route; and in marching through the sandy plains on the coast, he suffered, from heat and drought, calamities of a new species, hardly inferior to those in which he had been involved by cold and famine on the summits of the Andes.

His operations.

His arrival at Cuzco (1537.) was in a critical moment. The Spaniards and Peruvians fixed their eyes upon him with equal solicitude. The former, as he did not study to conceal his pretensions, were at a loss whether to welcome him as a deliverer, or to take precautions against him as an enemy. The latter, knowing the points in contest between him and his countrymen, flattered themselves that they had more to hope than to dread from his operations. Almagro himself, unacquainted with the detail of the events which had happened in his absence, and solicitous to learn the precise posture of affairs, advanced towards the capital slowly, and with great circumspection. Various negotiations with both parties were set on foot. The Inca conducted them on his part with much address. At first he endeavoured to gain the friendship of Almagro; and after many fruitless

overtures, despairing of any cordial union with a Spaniard, he attacked him by surprise with a numerous body of chosen troops. But the Spanish discipline and valour maintained their wonted superiority. The Peruvians were repulsed with such slaughter, that a great part of their army dispersed, and Almagro proceeded to the gates of Cuzco without interruption.

Takes possession of Cuzco.

The Pizarros, as they had no longer to make head against the Peruvians, directed all their attention towards their new enemy, and took measures to obstruct his entry into the capital. Prudence, however, restrained both parties for some time from turning their arms against one another, while surrounded by common enemies, who would rejoice in the mutual slaughter. Different schemes of accommodation were proposed. Each endeavoured to deceive the other, or to corrupt his followers. The generous, open, affable temper of Almagro gained many adherents of the Pizarros, who were disgusted with their harsh domineering manners. Encouraged by this defection, he advanced towards the city by night, surprised the centinels, or was admitted by them, and investing the house where the two brothers resided, compelled them, after an obstinate defence, to surrender at discretion. Almagro's claim of jurisdiction over Cuzco was universally
acknow-

acknowledged, and a form of administration established in his name. g)

Civil war, and first success of Almagro.

Two or three persons only were killed in this first act of civil hostility; but it was soon followed by scenes more bloody. Francis Pizarro having dispersed the Peruvians who had invested Lima, and received some considerable reinforcements from Hispaniola and Nicaragua, ordered five hundred men, under the command of Alonso de Alvarado, to march to Cuzco, in hopes of relieving his brothers, if they and their garrison were not already cut off by the Peruvians. This body, which, at that period of the Spanish power in America, must be deemed considerable force, advanced near to the capital before they knew that they had any enemy more formidable than Indians to encounter. It was with astonishment that they beheld their countrymen posted on the banks of the river Abancay to oppose their progress. Almagro, however, wished rather to gain than to conquer them, and by bribes and promises endeavoured to seduce their leader. The fidelity of Alvarado remained unshaken; but his talents for war were not equal to his virtue. Almagro amused him with various movements, of which he did not comprehend the meaning,

g) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 4. Vega, p. II. lib. ii. c. 29. Gomara Hist. c. 134. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 1-5.

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while a large detachment of chosen soldiers passed the river by night, fell upon his camp (July 12. 1537.) by surprise, broke his troops before they had time to form, and took him prisoner, together with his principal officers. b)

but does not improve his advantages.

By the sudden rout of this body, the contest between the two rivals must have been decided, if Almagro had known as well how to improve as how to gain a victory. Rodrigo Orgognez, an officer of great abilities, who having served under the constable Bourbon, when he led the Imperial army to Rome, had been accustomed to bold and decisive measures, advised him instantly to issue orders for putting to death Ferdinand and Gonzalo Pizarros, Alvarado, and a few other persons whom he could not hope to gain, and to march directly with his victorious troops to Lima, before the governor had time to prepare for his defence. But Almagro, though he discerned at once the utility of the counsel, and had courage to have carried it into execution, suffered himself to be influenced by sentiments unlike those of a soldier of fortune grown old in service, and by scruples which suited not the chief of a party who had drawn his sword in civil war. Feelings of humanity restrained him from shedding the

b) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 6. Gom. Hist. c. 138. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 33, 34. Herrera, dec. 6, lib. ii. c. 9.

blood of his opponents and the dread of being deemed a rebel, deterred him from entering a province which the king had allotted to another. Though he knew that arms must terminate the dispute between him and Pizarro, and resolved not to shun that mode of decision, yet, with a timid delicacy preposterous at such a juncture, he was so solicitous that his rival should be considered as the aggressor, that he marched quietly back to Cuzco, to wait his approach. i)

Distress of Pizarro.

Pizarro was still unacquainted with all the interesting events which had happened near Cuzco. Accounts of Almagro's return, of the loss of the capital, of the death of one brother, of the imprisonment of the other two, and of the defeat of Alvarado, were brought to him at once. Such a tide of misfortunes almost overwhelmed a spirit which had continued firm and erect under the rudest shocks of adversity.

His artful conduct.

But the necessity of attending to his own safety, as well as the desire of revenge, preserved him from sinking under it. He took measures for both with his wonted sagacity,

E 2

As he had the command of the sea-coast, and expected considerable supplies both of men and military stores, it was no less his interest to gain time, and to avoid action, than it was that of Almagro to precipitate operations, and bring the contest to a speedy issue. He had recourse to arts which he had formerly practised with success, and Almagro was again weak enough to suffer himself to be amused with a prospect of terminating their differences by some amicable accommodation. By varying his overtures, and shifting his ground as often as it suited his purpose, sometimes seeming to yield every thing which his rival could desire, and then retracting all that he had granted, Pizarro dexterously protracted the negotiation to such a length, that though every day was precious to Almagro, several months elapsed without coming to any final agreement. While the attention of Almagro, and of the officers with whom he consulted, was occupied in detecting and eluding the fraudulent intentions of the governor, Gonzalo Pizarro and Alvarado found means to corrupt the soldiers to whose custody they were committed, and not only made their escape themselves, but persuaded sixty of the men who formerly guarded them to accompany their flight. k) Fortune having thus delivered one of his brothers, the go-

k) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ii. c. 14.

governor scrupled not at one act of perfidy more to procure the release of the other. He proposed, that every point in controversy between Almagro and himself should be submitted to the decision of their sovereign; that until his award was known, each should retain undisturbed possession of whatever part of the country he now occupied; that Ferdinand Pizarro should be set at liberty, and return instantly to Spain, together with the officers, whom Almagro purposed to send thither to represent the justice of his claims. Obvious as the design of Pizarro was in those propositions, and familiar as his artifices might now have been to his opponent, Almagro, with a credulity approaching to infatuation, relied on his sincerity, and concluded an agreement on these terms. 1)

His preparations for war.

The moment that Ferdinand Pizarro recovered his liberty, the governor, no longer fettered in his operations by anxiety about his brother's life, threw off every disguise which his concern for it had obliged him to assume. The treaty was forgotten; pacifick and conciliating measures were no more mentioned; it was in the field, he openly declared, and not in the cabinet; by arms, and not by negotiation; that it must now be determined who should

1) Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iii. c. 9. Gomara Hist. c. 140. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 35.

be master of Peru. The rapidity of his preparations suited such a decisive resolution. Seven hundred men were soon ready to march towards Cuzco. The command of these was given (1538.) to his two brothers, in whom he could perfectly confide for the execution of his most violent schemes, as they were urged on, not only by the enmity flowing from family rivalry, but animated with the desire of vengeance, excited by recollection of their own recent disgrace and sufferings. After an unsuccessful attempt to cross the mountains in the direct road between Lima and Cuzco, they marched towards the south along the coast as far as Nasca, and then turning to the left, penetrated through the defiles in that branch of the Andes which lay between them and the capital. Almagro, instead of hearkening to some of his officers, who advised him to attempt the defence of those difficult passes, waited the approach of the enemy in the plain of Cuzco. Two reasons seem to have induced him to take this resolution. His followers amounted hardly to five hundred, and he was afraid of weakening such a feeble body, by sending any detachment towards the mountains. His cavalry far exceeded that of the adverse party, both in number and discipline, and it was only in an open country that he could avail himself of that advantage.

His army marches to Cuzco.

The Pizarros advanced without any obstruction, but what arose from the nature of the desert and horrid regions, through which they marched. As soon as they reached the plain, both factions were equally impatient to bring this long protracted contest to an issue. Though countrymen and friends, the subjects of the same sovereign, and each with the royal standard displayed; and though they beheld the mountains that surrounded the plain in which they were drawn up, covered with a vast multitude of Indians, assembled to enjoy the spectacle of their mutual carnage, and prepared to attack whatever party remained master of the field, so fell and implacable was the rancour which had taken possession of every breast, that not one pacifick counsel, not a single overture towards accommodation proceeded from either side. Unfortunately for Almagro, he was so worn out with the fatigues of service, to which his advanced age was unequal, that, at this crisis of his fate, he could not exert his wonted activity; and he was obliged to commit the leading of his troops to Orgognez, who, though an officer of great merit, did not possess the same ascendant either over the spirit or affection of the soldiers, as the chief whom they had long been accustomed to follow and revere.

Almagro defeated and taken. April 26. 1538.

The conflict was fierce, and maintained by each party with equal courage. On the side of Almagro, were more veteran soldiers, and a larger proportion of cavalry; but these were counterbalanced by Pizarro's superiority in numbers, and by two companies of well-disciplined musketeers, which, on receiving an account of the insurrection of the Indians, the emperor had sent from Spain. m) As the use of fire-arms was not frequent among the adventurers in America, n) hastily equipped for service, at their own expence, this small band of soldiers, regularly trained and armed, was a novelty in Peru, and decided the fate of the day. Wherever it advanced, the weight of a heavy and well-sustained fire bore down horse and foot before it; and Orgognez, while he endeavoured to rally and animate his troops, having received a dangerous wound, the rout became general. The barbarity of the conquerors stained the glory which they acquired by this complete victory. The violence of civil rage hurried on some to slaughter their countrymen with indiscriminate cruelty; the meanness of private revenge instigated others to single out individuals as the objects of their vengeance. Orgognez and several officers of dis-

m) Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 8.

n) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 8.

tion were massacred in cold blood; above a hundred and forty soldiers fell in the field; a large proportion, where the number of combatants were few, and the heat of the contest soon over. Almagro, though so feeble that he could not bear the motion of a horse, had insisted on being carried in a litter to an eminence which overlooked the field of battle. From thence, in the utmost agitation of mind, he viewed the various movements of both parties, and at last beheld the total defeat of his own troops, with all the passionate indignation of a veteran leader long accustomed to victory. He endeavoured to save himself by flight, but was taken prisoner, and guarded with the strictest vigilance. o)

The Indians, instead of executing the resolution which they had formed, retired quietly after the battle was over; and in the history of the New World, there is not a more striking instance of the wonderful ascendant which the Spaniards had acquired over its inhabitants, than that after seeing one of the contending parties ruined and dispersed, and the other weakened and fatigued, they had not courage to fall upon their enemies, when fortune presented an opportunity of attacking them with such advantage. p)

o) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. 12. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 36-38.

Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iii. c. 10 - 12. lib. iv. c. 1-6.

p) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 38.

New expeditions.

Cuzco was pillaged by the victorious troops, who found there a considerable booty, consisting partly of the gleanings of the Indian treasures, and partly of the wealth amassed by their antagonists from the spoils of Peru and Chili. But so far did this, and whatever the bounty of their leader could add to it, fall below the high ideas of the recompence which they conceived to be due to their merit, that Ferdinand Pizarro, unable to gratify such extravagant expectations, had recourse to the same expedient which his brother had employed on a similar occasion, and endeavoured to find occupation for this turbulent assuming spirit, in order to prevent it from breaking out into open mutiny. With this view, he encouraged his most active officers to attempt the discovery and reduction of various provinces which had not hitherto submitted to the Spaniards. To every standard erected by the leaders who undertook any of those new expeditions, volunteers resorted with the ardour and hope peculiar to the age. Several of Almagro's soldiers joined them, and thus Pizarro had the satisfaction of being delivered both from the importunity of his discontented friends, and the dread of his ancient enemies. q)

q) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hist. c. 141. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 7.

Almagro tried, condemned, and put to death.

Almagro himself remained for several months in custody, under all the anguish of suspense. For although his doom was determined by the Pizarros from the moment that he fell into their hands, prudence constrained them to defer gratifying their vengeance, until the soldiers who had served under him, as well as several of their own followers in whom they could not perfectly confide, had left Cuzco. As soon as they set out upon their different expeditions, Almagro was impeached of treason, formally tried, and condemned to die. The sentence astonished him, and though he had often braved death with undaunted spirit in the field, its approach under this ignominious form appalled him so much, that he had recourse to abject supplications, unworthy of his former fame. He besought the Pizarros to remember the ancient friendship between their brother and him, and how much he had contributed to the prosperity of their family; he reminded them of the humanity with which, in opposition to the repeated remonstrances of his own most attached friends, he had spared their lives when he had them in his power; he conjured them to pity his age and infirmities, and to suffer him to pass the wretched remainder of his days in bewailing his crimes, and in making his peace with Heaven. The intreaties, says a Spanish

historian, of a man so much beloved, touched many an unfeeling heart, and drew tears from many a hard eye. But the brothers remained inflexible. As soon as Almagro knew his fate to be inevitable, he met it with the dignity and fortitude of a veteran. He was strangled in a prison, and afterwards publicly beheaded. (1538.) He suffered in the seventy-fifth year of his age, and left one son by an Indian woman of Panama, whom, though at that time a prisoner in Lima, he named as successor to his government, pursuant to a power which the emperor had granted him. r)

Deliberations of the court of Spain concerning the state of Peru.

As, during the civil dissensions in Peru all intercourse with Spain was suspended, the detail of the extraordinary transactions there did not soon reach the court. Unfortunately for the victorious faction, the first intelligence was brought thither by some of Almagro's officers, who left the country upon the ruin of their cause, and they related what had happened, with every circumstance unfavourable to Pizarro and his brothers. Their ambition, their breach of the most solemn engagements, their violence and cruelty were painted with all the malignity and exaggeration of party-hatred. Ferdinand

r) Zarate, lib. iii. c. 12. Gomara Hist. c. 141. Vega, p. 11. lib. ii. c. 39. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. iv. c. 9. lib. v. c. 1.

Pizarro, who arrived soon after and appeared in court with extraordinary splendor, endeavoured to efface the impression which their accusations had made, and to justify his brother and himself by representing Almagro as the aggressor. The emperor and his ministers though they could not pronounce which of the contending factions was most criminal, clearly discerned the fatal tendency of their dissensions. It was obvious, that while the leaders, entrusted with the conduct of two infant colonies, employed the arms which should have been turned against the common enemy, in destroying one another, all attention to the publick good must cease, and there was reason to dread that the Indians might improve the advantage which the disunion of the Spaniards presented to them, and extirpate both the victors and vanquished. But the evil was more apparent than the remedy. Where the information which had been received was so defective and suspicious, and the scene of action so remote, it was almost impossible to chalk out the line of conduct that ought to be followed; and before any plan that should be approved of in Spain could be carried into execution; the situation of the parties, and the circumstances of affairs, might alter so entirely as to render its effect extremely pernicious.

Vaca de Castro sent thither with ample powers.

Nothing therefore remained but to send a person to Peru, vested with extensive and discretionary power, who, after viewing deliberately the posture of affairs with his own eyes, and enquiring upon the spot into the conduct of the different leaders, should be authorised to establish the government in that form which he deemed most conducive to the interest of the parent state, and the welfare of the colony. The man selected for this important charge was Christóval Vaca de Castro, a judge in the court of royal audience at Valladolid; and his abilities, integrity, and firmness, justified the choice. His instructions, though ample, were not such as to fetter him in his operations. According to the different aspect of affairs, he had power to take upon him different characters. If he found the governor still alive, he was to assume only the title of judge, to maintain the appearance of acting in concert with him, and to guard against giving any just cause of offence to a man who had merited so highly of his country. But if Pizarro were dead, he was entrusted with a commission that he might then produce, by which he was appointed his successor in the government of Peru. This attention to Pizarro, however, seems to have flowed rather from dread of his power, than from any approbation of his measures; for at

the very time that the court seemed so solicitous not to irritate him, his brother Ferdinand was arrested at Madrid, and confined to a prison, where he remained above twenty years. s)

Pizarro divides Peru among his followers.

While Vaca de Castro was preparing for his voyage, events of great moment happened in Peru. The governor, considering himself, upon the death of Almagro, as the unrivalled possessor of that vast empire, proceeded to parcel out its territories among the conquerors; and had this division been made with any degree of impartiality, the extent of country which he had to bestow, was sufficient to have gratified his friends, and to have gained his enemies. But Pizarro conducted this transaction, not with the equity and candour of a judge attentive to discover and to reward merit, but with the illiberal spirit of a party leader. Large districts, in parts of the country most cultivated and populous, were set apart as his own property, or granted to his brothers, his adherents and favourites. To others, lots less valuable and inviting were assigned. The followers of Almagro, amongst whom were many of the original adventurers to whose valour and perseverance Pizarro was indebted for his

s) Gomara Hist. c. 142. Vega, p. 11, lib. ii. c. 40, Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 10, 11. lib. x. c. 1.

success, were totally excluded from any portion in those lands, towards the acquisition of which they had contributed so largely. As the vanity of every individual set an immoderate value upon his own services, and the idea of each concerning the recompence due to them rose gradually to a more exorbitant height in proportion as their conquests extended, all who were disappointed in their expectations exclaimed loudly against the rapaciousness and partiality of the governor. The partisans of Almagro murmured in secret, and meditated revenge. t)

Progress of the Spanish arms.

Rapid as the progress of the Spaniards in South America had been since Pizarro landed in Peru, their avidity of dominion was not yet satisfied. The officers, to whom Ferdinand Pizarro gave the command of different detachments, penetrated into several new provinces, and though some of them were exposed to great hardships in the cold and barren regions of the Andes, and others suffered distress not inferior amidst the woods and marshes of the plains, they made discoveries and conquests which extended their knowledge of the country, as well as added to their power. Pedro de Valdivia reassumed Almagro's scheme of invading Chili, and notwithstanding the fortitude of the natives in

t) Vega, p. II. lib. iii. c. 2. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 5.

in defending their possessions, made such progress in the conquest of the country, that he founded the city of St. Jago, and gave a beginning to the establishment of the Spanish dominion in that province. u)

Remarkable expedition of Gonzalo Pizarro.

But of all the enterprizes undertaken about this period, that of Gonzalo Pizarro was the most remarkable. The governor, who seems to have resolved that no person in Peru should possess any station of distinguished eminence or authority but those of his own family, had deprived Benalcazar, the conqueror of Quito, of his command in that kingdom, and appointed his brother Gonzalo to take the government of it. He instructed him to attempt the discovery and conquest of the country to the east of the Andes, which, according to the information of the Indians, abounded with cinnamon and other valuable spices. Gonzalo, not inferior to any of his brothers in courage, and no less ambitious of acquiring distinction, eagerly engaged in this difficult service. He set out from Quito at the head of three hundred and forty soldiers, near one half of whom were horsemen, with four thousand Indians to carry their provisions. In forcing their way through the defiles, or over the ridges of the Andes, excess

u) Zarate, lib. iiii. c. 13. Ovalle, lib. ii. c. I. &c.

of cold and fatigue, to neither of which they were accustomed, proved fatal to the greater part of their wretched attendants. The Spaniards, though more robust, and inured to a variety of climates, suffered considerably, and lost some men; but when they descended into the low country their distress increased. During two months it rained incessantly, without any interval of fair weather long enough to dry their clothes. x) The vast plains upon which they were now entering, either altogether without inhabitants, or occupied by the rudest and least industrious tribes in the New World, yielded little subsistence. They could not advance a step but as they cut a road through woods, or made it through marches. Such incessant toil, and continual scarcity of food, seem more than sufficient to have exhausted and dispirited any troops. But the fortitude and perseverance of Spaniards in the sixteenth century were insuperable. Allured by frequent but false accounts of rich countries before them, they persisted in struggling on, until they reached the banks of the Coca or Napo, one of the large rivers whose waters pour into the Maragnon, and contribute to its grandeur. There, with infinite labour, they built a bark, which they expected would prove of great utility, in conveying them over rivers, in procuring provi-

x) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2.

sions , and in exploring the country. This was manned with fifty soldiers, under the command of Francis Orellana, the officer next in rank to Pizarro. The stream carried them down with such rapidity , that they were soon far a head of their countrymen, who followed slowly and with difficulty by land.

Deserted by Orellana ,

At this distance from his commander, Orellana, a young man ; of an aspiring mind, began to fancy himself independent , and transported with the predominant passion of the age, he formed the scheme of distinguishing himself as a discoverer, by following the course of the Maragnon, until it joined the ocean, and by surveying the vast regions through which it flows. This scheme of Orellana's was as bold as it was treacherous. For, if he be chargeable with the guilt of having violated his duty to his commander, and with having abandoned his fellow-soldiers in a pathless desert, where they had hardly any hopes of success, or even of safety, but what were founded on the service which they expected from the bark, his crime is, in some measure, balanced by the glory of having ventured upon a navigation of near two thousand leagues, through unknown nations, in a vessel hastily constructed, with green timber, and by

very unskilful hands, without provisions, without a compass, or a pilot. But his courage and alacrity supplied every defect.

who sails down the Maragnon.

Committing himself fearlessly to the guidance of the stream, the Napo bore him along to the south, until he reached the great channel of the Maragnon. Turning with it towards the east, he held on his course in that direction. He made frequent descents on both sides of the river, sometimes seizing by force of arms the provisions of the fierce savages seated on its banks; and sometimes procuring a supply of food by a friendly intercourse with more gentle tribes. After a long series of dangers, which he encountered with amazing fortitude, and of distresses which he supported with no less magnanimity, he reached the ocean, y) where new perils awaited him. These he likewise surmounted, and got safe to the Spanish settlement in the island Cubagua; from thence he sailed to Spain. The vanity natural to travellers who visit regions unknown to the rest of mankind, and the art of an adventurer, solicitous to magnify his own merit, concurred in prompting him to mingle an extraordinary proportion of the marvellous in the narrative of his voyage. He pretended to have discovered nations so

y) See NOTE XIII.

rich, that the roofs of their temples were covered with plates of gold; and described a republick of women so warlike and powerful, as to have extended their dominion over a considerable tract of the fertile plains which he had visited. Extravagant as those tales were, they gave rise to an opinion, that a region abounding with gold, distinguished by the name of El Dorado, and a community of Amazons, were to be found in this part of the New World; and such is the propensity of mankind to believe what is wonderful that it has been slowly and with difficulty that reason and observation have exploded those fables. The voyage, however, even when stripped of every romantick embellishment, deserves to be recorded, not only as one of the most memorable occurrences in that adventurous age, but as the first event which led to any certain knowledge of the immense regions that stretch eastward from the Andes to the ocean. z)

Distress of Pizarro.

No words can describe the consternation of Pizarro, when he did not find the bark at the confluence of the Napo and Maragnon; where he had ordered Orellana to wait for him. He would

z) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 4. Gomara Hist. c. 86. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 4. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. ix. c. 2 - 5. Rodriguez El Maragnon y Amazonas, lib. i. c. 3.

not allow himself to suspect that a man, whom he had intrusted with such an important command, could be so base and so unfeeling, as to desert him at such a juncture. But imputing his absence from the place of rendezvous to some unknown accident, he advanced above fifty leagues along the banks of the Maragnon, expecting every moment to see the bark appear with a supply of provisions. At length he came up (1541.) with an officer whom Orellana had left to perish in the desert, because he had the courage to remonstrate against his perfidy. From him he learned the extent of Orellana's crime, and his followers perceived at once their own desperate situation, when deprived of their only resource. The spirit of the stoutest hearted veteran sunk within him, and all demanded to be led back instantly. Pizarro, though he assumed an appearance of tranquillity, did not oppose their inclination. But he was now twelve hundred miles from Quito; and in that long march the Spaniards encountered hardships greater than those they had endured in their progress outward, without the alluring hopes which then soothed and animated them under their sufferings. Hunger compelled them to feed on roots and berries, to eat all their dogs and horses, to devour the most loathsome reptiles, and even to gnaw the leather of their saddles and sword-belts. Four thousand Indians, and two hundred and ten Spaniards perished in this

wild disastrous expedition, which continued near two years; and as fifty men were abroad the bark with Orellana, only fourscore got back to Quito. These were naked like savages, and so emaciated with famine, or worn out with fatigue, that they had more the appearance of spectres than of men. z)

Number of malecontents in Peru.

But, instead of returning to enjoy the repose which his condition required, Pizarro, on entering Quito, received accounts of a fatal event that threatened calamities more dreadful to him, that there through which he had passed. From the time that his brother made that partial division of his conquests which has been mentioned, the adherents of Almagro, considering themselves as proscribed by the party in power, no longer entertained any hope of bettering their condition. Great numbers in despair resorted to Lima, where the house of young Almagro was always open to them, and the slender portion of his father's fortune, which the governor allowed him to enjoy, was spent in affording them subsistence.

z) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 2 - 5. Vega, p. II. lib. iii. c. 3, 4, 5. 14. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 7, 8. lib. ix. c. 2 - 5. dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 14. Pizar, Vanorez Illustr. 349. &c.

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Consider young Almagro as their leader.

The warm attachment with which every person who had served under the elder Almagro devoted himself to his interests, was quickly transferred to his son, who was now grown up to the age of manhood, and possessed all the qualities which captivate the affections of soldiers. Of a graceful appearance, dexterous at all martial exercises, bold, open, generous, he seemed to be formed for command; and as his father, conscious of his own inferiority from the total want of education, had been extremely attentive to have him instructed in every science becoming a gentleman; the accomplishments which he had acquired heightened the respect of his followers, as they gave him distinction and eminence among illiterate adventurers. In this young man the Almagrians found a point of union which they wanted, and looking up to him as their head, were ready to undertake any thing for his advancement. Nor was affection for Almagro their only incitement; they were urged on by their own distresses. Many of them, destitute of common necessities, a) and weary of loitering away life, a burden to their chief, or to such of their associates as had saved some remnant of their fortune from pillage and confiscation, longed impatiently for an occasion to exert their acti-

a) See NOTE XIV.

vity and courage, and began to deliberate how they might be avenged on the author of all their misery.

Conspire against the life of Pizarro.

Their frequent cabals did not pass unobserved; and the governor was warned to be on his guard against men who meditated some desperate deed, and had resolution to execute it. But either from the native intrepidity of his mind, or from contempt of persons whose poverty seemed to render their machinations of little consequence, he disregarded the admonitions of his friends. „Be in no pain,“ said he carelessly, „about my life, it is perfectly safe, as long as every man in Peru knows that I can in a moment cut off any head which dares to harbour a thought against it.“ This security gave the Almagrians full leisure to digest and ripen every part of their scheme; and Juan de Herrada, an officer of great abilities, who had the charge of Almagro's education, took the direction of their consultations, with all the zeal, which this connection inspired, and with all the authority which the ascendant that he was known to have over the mind of his pupil gave him.

And kill him.

On Sunday, the twenty-sixth of June, at midday, the season of tranquillity and repose in all sultry climates, Herrada, at the head of

eighteen of the most determined conspirators, sallied out of Almagro's house in complete armour; and drawing their swords, as they advanced hastily towards the governor's palace, cried out: „ Long live the king, but let the tyrant die!“ Their associates, warned of their motions by a signal, were in arms at different stations ready to support them. Though Pizarro was usually surrounded by such a numerous train of attendants as suited the magnificence of the most opulent subject of the age in which he lived, yet as he was just risen from table, and most of his domesticks had retired to their own apartments, the conspirators passed through the two outer courts of the palace unobserved. They were at the bottom of the staircase, before a page in waiting could give the alarm to his master, who was conversing with a few friends in a large hall. The governor, whose steady mind no form of danger could appal, starting up, called for arms, and commanded Francisco de Chaves to make fast the door. But that officer, who did not retain so much presence of mind as to obey this prudent order, running to the top of the staircase, wildly asked the conspirators what they meant, and whither they were going? Instead of answering, they stabbed him to the heart, and burst into the hall. Some of the persons who were there threw themselves from the windows; others attempted to fly; and a few

drawing their swords, followed their leader into an inner apartment. The conspirators, animated with having the object of their vengeance now in view, rushed forward after them. Pizarro, with no other arms than his sword and buckler, defended the entry, and supported by his half-brother Alcantara, and his little knot of friends, he maintained the unequal contest with intrepidity worthy of his past exploits, and with the vigour of a youthful combatant. „Courage,“ cried he, „companions, we are yet enow to make those traitors repent of their audacity.“ But the armour of the conspirators protected them, while every thrust they made took effect. Alcantara fell dead at his brother's feet; his other defenders were mortally wounded. The governor, so weary that he could hardly wield his sword, and no longer able to parry the many weapons furiously aimed at him, received a deadly thrust full in his throat, sunk to the ground, and expired.

Almagro acknowledged as his successor.

As soon as he was slain, the assassins ran out into the streets, and waving their bloody swords, proclaimed the death of the tyrant. Above two hundred of their associates having joined them, they conducted young Almagro in solemn procession through the city, and assembling the magistrates and principal citizens,

compelled them to acknowledge him as lawful successor to his father in his government. The palace of Pizarro, together with the houses of several of his adherents, were pillaged by the soldiers, who had the satisfaction at once of being avenged on their enemies, and of enriching themselves by the spoils of those through whose hands all the wealth of Peru had passed. b)

New appearances of discord.

The boldness and success of the conspiracy, as well as the name and popular qualities of Almagro, drew many soldiers to his standard. Every adventurer of desperate fortune, all who were dissatisfied with Pizarro, and from the rapaciousness of his government in the latter years of his life, the number of malcontents was considerable, declared without hesitation in favour of Almagro, and he was soon at the head of eight hundred of the most gallant veterans in Peru. As his youth and inexperience disqualified him from taking the command of them himself, he appointed Herrada to act as general. But though Almagro speedily collected such a respectable force, the acquiescence in his government was far from being general. Pizarro had left many friends to whom his memory was

b) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 6 - 8. Gomara Hist. c. 144, 145. Vega, p. II. lib. iii. c. 5 - 7. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 4 - 7. Pizarro Var. Illust. p. 183.

dear; the barbarous assassination of a man to whom his country was so highly indebted, filled every impartial person with horror. The ignominious birth of Almagro, as well as the doubtful title on which he founded his pretensions, led others to consider him as an usurper. The officers who commanded in some provinces refused to recognize his authority, until it was confirmed by the emperor. In others, particularly at Cuzco, the royal standard was erected, and preparations made to revenge the murder of their ancient leader.

Arrival of Vaca de Castro, who assumes the title of governor.

Those seeds of discord, which could not have lain long dormant, acquired great vigour and activity, when the arrival of Vaca de Castro was known. After a long and disastrous voyage, he was driven by stress of weather into a small harbour in the province of Popayan, and proceeding from thence by land, after a journey no less tedious than difficult, he reached Quito. In his way he received accounts of Pizarro's death, and of the events which followed upon it. He immediately produced the royal commission appointing him governor of Peru, with the same privileges and authority; and his jurisdiction was acknowledged without hesitation by Benalcazar, Adelantado, or Lieutenant-general for the emperor in Popayan, and by Pedro

de Puelles, who, in the absence of Gonzalo Pizarro, had the command of the troops left in Quito. Vaca de Castro not only assumed the supreme authority, but shewed that he possessed the talents which the exercise of it at that juncture required. By his influence and address he soon assembled such a body of troops, as not only set him above all fear of being exposed to any insult from the adverse party, but enabled him to advance from Quito with the dignity that became his character. By dispatching persons of confidence to the different settlements in Peru, with a formal notification of his arrival and of his commission, he communicated to his countrymen the royal pleasure with respect to the government of the country. By private emissaries, he excited such officers as had discovered their disapprobation of Almagro's proceedings, to manifest their duty to their sovereign by supporting the person honoured with his commission. Those measures were productive of great effects. Encouraged by the approach of the new governor, or prepared by his machinations, the loyal were confirmed in their principles, and avowed them with greater boldness; the timid ventured to declare their sentiments; the neutral and wavering, finding it necessary to chuse a side, began to lean to that which now appeared to be the safest as well as the most just. c)

c) Benzon, lib. iii. c. 9. Zarate, lib. iv. c. II. Gomara, c. 146, 147. Herrera, dec. 6. lib. x. c. 1, 2, 3. 7. &c.

Conduct of Almagro.

Almagro observed the rapid progress of this spirit of disaffection to his cause, and in order to give an effectual check to it before the arrival of Vaca de Castro, he set out at the head of his troops for Cuzco, (1542.) where the most considerable body of opponents had erected the royal standard, under the command of Pedro Alvarez Holguin. During his march thither, Herrada, the skilful guide of his youth and of his counsels, died; and from that time his measures were conspicuous for their violence, but concerted with little sagacity, and executed with no address. Holguin, who, with forces far inferior to those of the opposite party, was descending towards the coast at the very time that Almagro was on his way to Cuzco, deceived his unexperienced adversary by a very simple stratagem, avoided an engagement, and effected a junction with Alvarado, an officer of note, who had been the first to declare against Almagro as an usurper.

Progress of Vaca de Castro.

Soon after, Vaca de Castro entered their camp with the troops which he brought from Quito, and erecting the royal standard before his own tent, he declared, that as governor, he would discharge in person all the functions of general of their combined forces. Though

formed by the tenour of his past life to the habits of a sedentary and pacifick profession, he at once assumed the activity and discovered the decision of an officer long accustomed to command. Knowing his strength to be now far superior to that of the enemy, he was impatient to terminate the contest by a battle. Nor did the followers of Almagro, who had no hopes of obtaining a pardon for a crime so atrocious as the murder of the governor, decline that mode of decision. They met (Sept. 16.) 1542.) at Chupas, about two hundred miles from Cuzco, and fought with all the fierce animosity inspired by the violence of civil rage, the rancour of private enmity, the eagerness of revenge, and the last efforts of despair.

Defeats Almagro.

Victory, after remaining long doubtful, declared at last for Vaca de Castro. The superior number of his troops, his own intrepidity, and the martial talents of Francisco de Carvajal, a veteran officer formed under the great captain in the wars of Italy, and who on that day laid the foundation of his future fame in Peru, triumphed over the bravery of his opponents, though led on by young Almagro with a gallant spirit, worthy of a better cause, and deserving another fate. The carnage was great in proportion to the number of the combatants. Many of the vanquished, especially such as were con-
scious

scious that they might be charged with being accessory to the assassination of Pizarro, rushing on the swords of the enemy, chose to fall like soldiers, rather than wait an ignominious doom. Of fourteen hundred men, the total amount of combatants on both sides, five hundred lay dead on the field, and the number of the wounded was still greater. d)

Severity of his proceedings.

If the military talents displayed by Vaca de Castro, both in the council and in the field, surprised the adventurers in Peru, they were still more astonished at his conduct after the victory. As he was by nature a rigid dispenser of justice, and persuaded that it required examples of extraordinary severity to restrain the licentious spirit of soldiers so far removed from the seat of government, he proceeded directly to try his prisoners as rebels. Forty were condemned to suffer the death of traitors, others were banished from Peru. Their leader, who made his escape from the battle, being betrayed by some of his officers, was publicly beheaded in Cuzco; and in him the name of Almagro, and the spirit of the party, was extinct. e)

d) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 12 - 19. Gomara, c. 148. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 11 - 18. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. I. c. 1, 2, 3. lib. iii. c. 1 - 11.

e) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 21. Gomara, c. 150. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. iii. c. 12. lib. vi. c. 1.

Consultations of the emperor concerning his dominions in America.

During those violent convulsions in Peru, the emperor and his ministers were intently employed in preparing regulations, by which they hoped not only to reestablish tranquillity there, but to introduce a more perfect system of internal policy into all their settlements in the New World. It is manifest from all the events recorded in the history of America, that rapid and extensive as the Spanish conquests there had been, they were not carried on by any regular exertion of the national force, but by the occasional efforts of private adventurers. After fitting out a few of the first armaments for discovering new regions, the court of Spain, during the busy reigns of Ferdinand and of Charles V, the former the most intriguing prince of the age, and the latter the most ambitious, was encumbered with such a multiplicity of schemes, and involved in war with so many nations in Europe, that it had not leisure to attend to distant and less interesting objects. The care of prosecuting discovery, or of attempting conquest, was abandoned to individuals; and with such ardour did men push forward in this new career, on which novelty, the spirit of adventure, avarice, ambition, and the hope of meriting heaven, prompted them with combined influence to enter, that in less than half a century almost the whole of that

extensive empire which Spain now possesses in the New World, was subjected to its dominion. As the Spanish court contributed nothing towards the various expeditions undertaken in America, it was not intitled to claim much from their success. The sovereignty of the conquered provinces, with the fifth of the gold and silver, was reserved for the crown; every thing else was seized by the associates in each expedition as their own right. The plunder of the countries which they invaded served to intemnify them for what they had expended in equipping themselves for the service, and the conquered territory was divided among them, according to rules which custom had introduced, as permanent establishments which their successful valour merited. In the infancy of those settlements, when their extent as well as their value were unknown, many irregularities escaped observation, and it was found necessary to connive at many excesses. The conquered people were pillaged with destructive rapacity, and their country parcelled out among its new masters in exorbitant shares, far exceeding the highest recompence due to their services. The rude conquerors of America, incapable of forming their establishments upon any general or extensive plan of policy, attentive only to private interest, unwilling to forego present gain from the prospect of remote or publick benefit, seem to have had no object but to amass sudden

wealth, without regarding what might be the consequences of the means by which they acquired it. But when time at length discovered to the Spanish court the importance of its American possessions, the necessity of new modelling their whole frame became obvious, and in place of the maxims and practices prevalent among military adventurers, it was found requisite to substitute the institutions of regular government.

One evil in particular called for an immediate remedy. The conquerors of Mexico and Peru imitated the fatal example of their countrymen settled in the islands, and employed themselves in searching for gold and silver with the same inconsiderate eagerness. Similar effects followed. The natives employed in this labour by masters, who in imposing tasks had no regard either to what they felt or to what they were able to perform, pined away and perished so fast, that there was reason to apprehend that Spain, instead of possessing countries peopled to such a degree as to be susceptible of progressive improvement, would soon remain proprietor only of a vast uninhabited desert.

The emperor and his ministers were so sensible of this, and so solicitous to prevent the extinction of the Indian race, which threatened to render their acquisitions of no value, that from time to time various laws, which I have mentioned, had been made for securing to that unhappy people more gentle and equitable treat-



ment. But the distance of America from the seat of empire, the feebleness of government in the new colonies, the avarice and audacity of soldiers unaccustomed to restraint, prevented these salutary regulations from operating with any considerable influence.

The persons with whom he advises.

The evil continued to grow, and at this time the emperor found an interval of leisure from the affairs of Europe to take it into attentive consideration. He consulted not only with his ministers and the members of the council of the Indies, but called upon several persons who had resided long in the New World, to aid them with the result of their experience and observation. Fortunately for the people of America, among these was Bartholomew de las Casas, who happened to be then at Madrid on a mission from a chapter of his order at Chiapa. f) Though, since the miscarriage of his former schemes for the relief of the Indians, he had continued shut up in his cloister, or occupied in religious functions, his zeal in behalf of the former objects of his pity was so far from abating, that, from increased knowledge of their sufferings, its ardour had augmented. He seized eagerly this opportunity of reviving his favourite maxims concerning the treatment

f) Remesal Hist. de Chiapa p. 146.

of the Indians. With the moving eloquence natural to a man on whose mind the scenes which he had beheld had made a deep impression, he described the irreparable waste of the human species in the New World, the Indian race almost totally swept away in the islands in less than fifty years, and hastening to extinction on the continent with the same rapid decay. With the decisive tone of one strongly prepossessed with the truth of his own system, he imputed all this to a single cause, to the exactions and cruelty of his countrymen, and contended that nothing could prevent the depopulation of America, but the declaring of its natives to be free-men, and treating them as subjects, not as slaves. Nor did he confide for the success of this proposal in the powers of his oratory alone. In order to enforce them, he composed his famous treatise concerning the destruction of America, g) in which he relates, with many horrid circumstances, but with apparent marks of exaggerated description, the devastation of every province which had been visited by the Spaniards.

His solicitude to introduce a general reformation of government.

The emperor was deeply afflicted with the recital of so many actions shocking to hu-

g) Remeſal, p. 192. 199.

manity. But as his views extended far beyond those of Las Casas, he perceived that relieving the Indians from oppression was but one step towards rendering his possessions in the New World a valuable acquisition, and would be of little avail, unless he could circumscribe the power, and usurpations of his own subjects there. The conquerors of America, however great their merit had been towards their country, were mostly persons of such mean birth, and of such abject rank in society, as gave no distinction in the eye of a monarch. The exorbitant wealth with which some of them returned, gave umbrage to an age not accustomed to see men in inferior condition elevated above their level, and rising to emulate or surpass the ancient nobility in splendour. The territories which their leaders had appropriated to themselves were of such enormous extent, h) that if the country should ever be improved in proportion to the fertility of the soil, they must grow too wealthy and too powerful for subjects. It appeared to Charles, that this abuse required a remedy no less than the other, and that the regulations concerning both must be enforced by a mode of government more vigorous than had yet been introduced into America.

New regulation for this purpose.

With this view he framed a body of laws, containing many salutary appointments with

h) See NOTE XV.

respect to the constitution and powers of the supreme council of the Indies; concerning the station and jurisdiction of the royal audiences in different parts of America; the administration of justice; the order of government, both ecclesiastical and civil. These were approved of by all ranks of men. But together with them were issued the following regulations, which excited universal alarm, and occasioned the most violent convulsions:,, That as the repartimientos or shares of land seized by several persons appeared to be excessive, the royal audiences are empowered to reduce them to a moderate extent: that upon the death of any conqueror or planter, the lands and Indians granted to him shall not descend to his widow or children, but return to the crown: that the Indians shall henceforth be exempted from personal service, and shall not be compelled to carry the baggage of travellers, to labour in the mines, or to dive in the pearl fisheries: that the stated tribute due by them to their superior shall be ascertained, and they shall be paid as servants for any work they voluntarily perform: that all persons who are or have been in publick offices, ecclesiasticks of every denomination, hospitals and monasteries, shall be deprived of the lands and Indians allotted to them, and these be annexed to the crown: that every person in Peru, who had

any criminal concern in the contests between Pizarro and Almagro, should forfeit his lands and Indians. "i)

His ministers remonstrate against them.

All the Spanish ministers who had hitherto been entrusted with the direction of American affairs, and who were best acquainted with the state of the country, remonstrated against those regulations as ruinous to their infant colonies. They represented, that the number of Spaniards who had hitherto emigrated to the New World was so extremely small, that nothing could be expected from any effort of theirs towards improving the vast regions over which they were scattered; that the success of every scheme for this purpose must depend upon the ministry and service of the Indians; whose native indolence and aversion to labour, no prospect of benefit or promise of reward could surmount; that the moment the right of imposing a task, and exacting the performance of it, was taken from their masters, every work of industry must cease, and all the source from which wealth begun to pour in upon Spain must be stopt for ever. But Charles, tenacious at all times of his own opinions, and so much impressed at present with the view of the disorders which reigned in America, that he was

i) Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 5, Fernandez Hist. lib. I. c. 1. 2.

willing to hazard the application even of a dangerous remedy, persisted in his resolution of publishing the laws.

A viceroy appointed for Peru. 1543.

That they might be carried into execution with greater vigour and authority, he authorised Francisco Tello de Sandoval to repair to Mexico as Visitador or superintendent of that country, and to co-operate with Antonio de Mendoza, the viceroy, in enforcing them. He appointed Blasco Nugnez Vela to be governor of Peru, with the title of Viceroy; and in order to strengthen his administration, he established a court of royal audience in Lima, in which four lawyers of eminence were to preside as judges. k)

Effects of the regulation in New Spain.

The viceroy and superintendent failed at the same time; and an account of the laws which they were to enforce reached America before them. The entry of Sandoval into Mexico was viewed as the prelude of general ruin. The unlimited grant of liberty to the Indians affected every Spaniard in America without distinction, and there was hardly one who might not on some pretext be included

k) Zarate, lib. 3. c. 24. Gomara, c. 151. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20.

under the other regulations, and suffer by them. But the colony in New Spain had now been so long accustomed to the restraints of law and authority under the steady and prudent administration of Mendoza, that how much soever the spirit of the new statutes was detested and dreaded, no attempt was made to obstruct the publication of them by any act of violence unbecoming subjects. The magistrates and principal inhabitants, however, presented dutiful addresses to the viceroy and superintendent, representing the fatal consequences of enforcing them. Happily for them, Mendoza, by long residence in the country, was so thoroughly acquainted with its state, that he knew what was for its interest as well as what it could bear; and Sandoval, though new in office, displayed a degree of moderation seldom possessed by persons just entering upon the exercise of power. They engaged to suspend, for some time, the execution of what was offensive in the new laws, and not only consented that a deputation of citizens should be sent to Europe to lay before the emperor the apprehensions of his subjects in New Spain with respect to their tendency and effects, but they concurred with them in supporting their sentiments. Charles, moved by the opinion of men whose abilities and integrity intitled them to decide concerning what fell immediately under their own view, granted such a

relaxation of the rigour of the laws as reestablished the colony in its former tranquillity. 1)

In Peru.

In Peru the storm gathered with an aspect still more fierce and threatening, and was not so soon dispersed. The conquerors of Peru, of a rank much inferior to those who had subjected Mexico to the Spanish crown, farther removed from the inspection of the parent state, and intoxicated with the sudden acquisition of wealth, carried on all their operation with greater licence and irregularity than any body of adventurers in the New World. Amidst the general subversion of law and order, occasioned by two successive civil wars, when each individual was at liberty to decide for himself, without any guide but his own interest or passions, this turbulent spirit rose above all sense of subordination. To men thus corrupted by anarchy, the introduction of regular government, the power of a viceroy, and the authority of a respectable court of judicature, would have appeared formidable restraints, to which they would have submitted with reluctance. But they revolted with indignation against the idea of complying with laws, by

1) Fernandez, Hist. lib. I. c. 3, 4, 5. Vega, p. II. lib. III. c. 21, 22. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. V. c. 7. lib. VII. c. 14, 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. V. c. 13.

which they were to be stripped at once of all they had earned so hardly during many years of service and suffering. As the account of the new law spread successively through the different settlements, the inhabitants ran together, the women in tears, and the men exclaiming against the injustice and ingratitude of their sovereign in depriving them, unheard and unconvicted, of their possessions., Is this, cried they, the recompence due to persons, who, without publick aid, at their own expence, and by their own valour, have subjected to the crown of Castile territories of such vast extent and opulence? Are these the rewards bestowed for having endured unparalleled distress, for having encountered every species of danger in the service of their country? Whose merit is so great, whose conduct has been so irreproachable, that he may not be condemned by some penal clause in regulations, conceived in terms as loose and comprehensive, as if it had been intended that all should be entangled in their snare? Every Spaniard of note in Peru has held some publick office, and all, without distinction, have been constrained to take an active part in the contest between the two rival chiefs. Were the former to be robbed of their property because they had done their duty? Were the latter to be punished on account of what they could not avoid? Shall the conquerors of this great empire, instead of receiving

marks of distinction, be deprived of the natural consolation of providing for their widows and children, and leave them to depend for subsistence on the scanty supply they can extort from unfeeling courtiers? m) We are not able now, continued they, to explore unknown regions in quest of more secure settlements; our constitutions, debilitated with age, and our bodies covered with wounds, are no longer fit for active service; but still we possess vigour sufficient to assert our just rights, and we will not tamely suffer them to be wrested from us. “n)

An insurrection prevented by the moderation of Castro.

By discourses of this sort, uttered, with vehemence, and listened to with universal approbation, their passions were inflamed to such a pitch, that they were prepared for the most violent measures; and began to hold consultations in different places, how they might oppose the entrance of the viceroy and judges, and prevent not only the execution but the promulgation of the new laws. From this, however, they were diverted by the address of Vaca de Castro, who flattered them with the hopes, that, as soon as the viceroy and judges should arrive, and had leisure to examine their

m) Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii. c. 14, 15.

n) Gomara, c. 152. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 10, 11. Vega, p. 11. lib. iii. c. 20. 22. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

petitions and remonstrances, they would concur with them in endeavouring to procure some mitigation in the rigour of laws which had been framed without due attention either to the state of the country, or to the sentiments of the people. A greater degree of accommodation to these and even some concessions on the part of government, were now become requisite to compose the present ferment, and to sooth the colonists into submission, by inspiring them with confidence in their superiors.

The spirit of disaffection increased by the viceroy.

But without profound discernment, conciliating manners, and flexibility of temper, such a plan could not be carried on. The viceroy possessed none of these. Of all the qualities that fit men for high command, he was endowed only with integrity and courage; the former harsh and uncomplying, the latter bordering so frequently on rashness or obstinacy, that in his situation they were defects rather than virtues. From the moment that he landed, (March 4. 1543.) at Tumbez, Nugnez Vela seems to have considered himself merely as an executive officer, without any discretionary power; and, regardless of whatever he observed or heard concerning the state of the country, he adhered to the letter of the regulations with unrelenting rigour. In all the towns through which he passed, the na-

tives were declared to be free, every person in publick office was deprived of his lands and servants; and as an example of obedience to others, he would not suffer a single Indian to be employed in carrying his own baggage in his march towards Lima. Amazement and consternation went before him as he approached; and so little solicitous was he to prevent these from augmenting, that, on entering the capital, he openly avowed that he came to obey the orders of his sovereign, not to dispense with his laws. This harsh declaration was accompanied with what rendered it still more intolerable, haughtiness in deportment, a tone of arrogance and decision in discourse, and an insolence of office grievous to men little accustomed to hold civil authority in high respect. Every attempt to procure a suspension or mitigation of the new laws, the viceroy considered as flowing from a spirit of disaffection that tended to rebellion. Several persons of rank were confined, and some put to death, without any form of trial. Vaca de Castro was arrested, and notwithstanding the dignity of his former rank, and his merit in having prevented a general insurrection in the colony, he was loaded with chains, and shut up in the common jail. o)

The

o) Zarate, lib. iv. c. 23, 24, 25. Gomara, c. 153-155. Vega, p. II, lib. iv. c. I, 5. Fernandez, lib. I. c. 6-10.

The malcontents chuse Gonzalo Pizarro to be their leader.

But however general the indignation was against such proceedings, it is probable the band of authority would have been strong enough to suppress it, or to prevent its bursting out with open violence, if the malcontents had not been provided with a leader of credit and eminence to unite and to direct their efforts. From the time that the purport of the new regulations was known in Peru, every Spaniard there turned his eyes towards Gonzalo Pizarro, as the only person able to avert the ruin with which they threatened the colony. From all quarters, letters and addresses were sent to him, conjuring him to stand forth as their common protector, and offering to support him in the attempt with their lives and fortunes. Gonzalo, though inferior in talents to his other brothers, was equally ambitious, and of courage no less daring. The behaviour of an ungrateful court towards his brothers and himself, dwelt continually on his mind, Ferdinand a state prisoner in Europe, the children of the governor in custody of the viceroy, and sent aboard his fleet, himself reduced to the condition of a private citizen in a country, for the discovery and conquest of which Spain was indebted to his family. These thoughts prompted him to seek for vengeance, and to assert the rights of his family, of which he now confi-

dered himself as the guardian and the heir. But as no Spaniard can easily surmount that veneration for his sovereign which is interwoven in his frame, the idea of marching in arms against the royal standard filled him with horror. He hesitated long, and was still-unresolved, when the violence of the viceroy, the universal call of his countrymen, and the certainty of becoming soon a victim himself to the severity of the new laws, moved him to quit his residence at Chuquisaca de la Plata, and repair to Cuzco. All the inhabitants went out to meet him, and received him with transports of joy as the deliverer of the colony. In the fervour of their zeal, they elected him procurator general of the Spanish nation in Peru, to solicit the repeal of the late regulations. They empowered him to lay their remonstrances before the royal audience in Lima, and upon pretext of danger from the Indians, authorised him to march thither in arms. Under sanction of this nomination Pizarro took (1544.) possession of the royal treasure, appointed officers, levied soldiers, seized a large train of artillery which Vaca de Castro had deposited in Guamanga, and set out for Lima, as if he had been advancing against a publick enemy. Disaffection having now assumed a regular form, and being united under a chief of such distinguished name, many persons of note resorted to his standard; and a considerable part of the troops, raised by the viceroy

to oppose his progress, deserted to him in a body. o)

Diffentions of the viceroy and court of audience.

Before Pizarro reached Lima, a revolution had happened there, which encouraged him to proceed with almost certainty of success. The violence of the viceroy's administration was not more formidable to the Spaniards of Peru than his overbearing haughtiness was odious to his associates, the judges of the royal audience. During their voyage from Spain, some symptoms of coldness began to appear. p) But as soon as they entered upon the exercise of their respective offices, both parties were so much exasperated by frequent contests, arising from interference of jurisdiction, and contrariety of opinion, that their mutual disgust soon grew into open enmity. The judges thwarted the viceroy in every measure, set at liberty prisoners whom he had confined, justified the malcontents, and applauded their remonstrances. At a time when both departments of government should have united against the approaching enemy, they were contending with each other for superiority.

H 2

o) Zarate, lib. v. c. 1. Gomara, c. 156, 157. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 4 - 12. Fernandez, lib. I. c. 12 - 17. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. vii, c. 18, &c. lib. viii. c. 1 - 5.

p) Gomara, c. 171.

The viceroy imprisoned.

The judges at length prevailed. The viceroy, universally odious, and abandoned even by his own guards, was seized (Sept. 18. 1544.) in his palace, and carried to a desert island on the coast, to be kept there until he could be sent home to Spain.

Views of Pizarro.

The judges, in consequence of this, having assumed the supreme direction of affairs into their own hands, issued a proclamation suspending the execution of the obnoxious laws, and sent a message to Pizarro, requiring him, as they had already granted whatever he could request, to dismiss his troops, and to repair to Lima with fifteen or twenty attendants. They could hardly expect that a man so daring and ambitious would tamely comply with this requisition. It was made, probably, with no such intention, but only to throw a decent veil over their own conduct; for Cepeda, the president of the court of audience, a pragmatical and aspiring lawyer, seems to have held a secret correspondence with Pizarro, and had already formed the plan, which he afterwards executed, of devoting himself to his service. The imprisonment of the viceroy, the usurpation of the judges, together with the universal confusion and anarchy consequent upon events so singular and unexpected, opened new and

vast prospects to Pizarro. He now beheld the supreme power within his reach. Nor did he want courage to push on towards the object which fortune presented to his view. Carvajal, the prompter of his resolutions, and guide of all his actions, had long fixed his eye upon it as the only end at which Pizarro ought to aim. Instead of the inferior function of procurator for the Spanish settlements in Peru, he openly demanded to be governor and captain-general of the whole province, and required the court of audience to grant him a commission to that effect. At the head of twelve hundred men, within a mile of Lima, where there was neither leader nor army to oppose him, such a request carried with it the authority of a command. But the judges, either from unwillingness to relinquish power, or from a desire of preserving some attention to appearances, hesitated, or seemed to hesitate, about complying.

He assumes the government.

Carvajal, impatient of delay, and impetuous in all his operations, marched into the city by night, seized several officers of distinction obnoxious to Pizarro, and hanged them without the formality of a trial. Next morning the court of audience issued a commission in the emperor's name, appointing Pizarro governor of Peru, with full powers, civil as well as military, and he entered the town that day

with extraordinary pomp, to take possession of his new dignity. q)

The viceroy recovers his liberty.

But amidst the disorder and turbulence which accompanied this total dissolution of the frame of government, the minds of men, set loose from the ordinary restraints of law and authority, acted with such capricious irregularity, that events no less extraordinary than unexpected followed in a rapid succession. Pizarro had scarcely begun to exercise the new powers with which he was invested, when he beheld formidable enemies rise up to oppose him. The viceroy having been put on board a vessel by the judges of the audience, in order that he might be carried to Spain under custody of Juan Alvarez, one of their own number; as soon as they were out at sea, Alvarez, either touched with remorse or moved by fear, fell at the feet of his prisoner, declaring him from that moment to be free, and that he himself, and every person in the ship, would obey him as the legal representative of their sovereign. Nugnez Vela ordered the pilot of the vessel to shape his course towards Tumbez, and as soon as he landed there, (Oct. 8. 1544.) erected the royal standard, and resumed his functions of viceroy. Several persons

q) Zarate, lib. v. c. 8-10. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 13-19. Gomara, c. 159-163. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 18-25. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 10-20.

of note, to whom the contagion of the seditious spirit which reigned at Cuzco and Lima had not reached, instantly avowed their resolution to support his authority. r) The violence of Pizarro's government, who observed every individual with the jealousy natural to usurpers, and who punished every appearance of disaffection with rigour, soon augmented the number of the viceroy's adherents, as it forced some leading men in the colony to fly to him for refuge. While he was gathering such strength at Tumbez, that his forces began to assume the appearance of what was considered as an army in America, Diego Centeno, a bold and active officer, exasperated by the cruelty and oppression of Pizarro's lieutenant governor in the province of Charcas, formed a conspiracy against his life, cut him off, and declared for the viceroy. s)

Pizarro marches against him. 1545.

Pizarro, though alarmed with those appearances of hostility in the opposite extremes of the empire, was not disconcerted. He prepared to assert the authority to which he had attained, with the spirit and conduct of an officer accustomed to command, and marched directly against the viceroy as the enemy who was near-

r) Zarate, lib. v. c. 9. Gomara, c. 165. Fernandez, lib. i c. 23. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 15.

s) Zarate, lib. v. c. 18. Gomara, c. 169. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. ix. c. 27.

est as well as most formidable. As he was master of the publick revenues in Peru, and most of the military men were attached to his family, his troops were so numerous, that the viceroy, unable to face them, retreated towards Quito. Pizarro followed him; and in that long march through a wild mountainous country, suffered hardships and encountered difficulties, which no troops but those accustomed to serve in America could have endured or surmounted. t) The viceroy had scarcely reached Quito, when the van guard of Pizarro's forces appeared, led by Carvajal, who, though near fourscore, was as hardy and active as any young soldier under his command. Nugnez Vela instantly abandoned a town incapable of defence, and with a rapidity more resembling a flight than a retreat, marched into the province of Popayan. Pizarro continued to pursue; but finding it impossible to overtake him, returned to Quito. From thence he dispatched Carvajal to oppose Centeno, who was growing formidable in the southern provinces of the empire, and he himself remained there to make head against the viceroy. u)

The viceroy defeated and slain.

By his own activity, and the assistance of Benalcazar, Nugnez Vela soon assembled four

t) See NOTE XVI.

u) Zarate, lib. v. c. 15, 16 - 24. Gomara, c. 167. Vega, p. 11, lib. iv. c. 25 - 28. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. 40. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. viii. c. 16. 20 - 27.

hundred men in Popayan. As he retained, amidst all his disasters, the same elevation of mind, and the same high sense of his own dignity, he rejected with disdain the advice of some of his followers, who urged him to make overtures of accomodation to Pizarro, declaring that it was only by the sword that a contest with rebels could be decided. With this intention he marched back to Quito. Pizarro, relying on the superior number and still more on the discipline and valour of his troops, advanced (Jan. 18. 1546.) resolutely to meet him. The battle was fierce and bloody, both parties fighting like men who knew that the possession of a great empire, the fate of their leaders, and their own future fortune, depended upon the issue of that day. But Pizarro's veterans pushed forward with such regular and well directed force that they soon began to make impression on their enemies. The viceroy, by extraordinary exertions, in which the abilities of a commander and the courage of a soldier were equally displayed, held victory for some time in suspense. At length he fell, pierced with many wounds; and the route of his followers became general. They were hotly pursued. His head was cut off, and placed on the publick gibbet in Quito, which Pizarro entered in triumph. The troops assembled by Centeno were dispersed soon after by Carvajal, and he himself compelled to fly to the mountains, where he remained for

several months concealed in a cave. Every person in Peru, from the frontiers of Popayan to those of Chili, submitted to Pizarro; and by his fleet, under Pedro de Hinojosa, he had not only the unrivalled command of the South-Sea, but had taken possession of Panama, and placed a garrison in Nombre de Dios, on the opposite side of the isthmus, which rendered him master of the usual avenue of communication between Spain and Peru. y)

Pizarro advised to assume the sovereignty of Peru.

After this decisive victory, Pizarro and his followers remained for some time at Quito, and during the first transports of their exultation, they ran into every excess of licentious indulgence, with the riotous spirit usual among low adventurers upon extraordinary success. But, amidst this dissipation, their chief and his confidants were obliged to turn their thoughts sometimes to what was serious, and deliberated with much sollicitude concerning the part that he ought now to take. Carvajal, no less bold and decisive in counsel than in the field, had from the beginning warned Pizarro, that in the career on which he was entering, it was vain to think of holding a middle course;

y) Zarate, lib. v. c. 31, 32. Gomara, c. 170. Vega, p. 11. lib. iv. c. 33, 34. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 51-54. Herrera, dec. 7. lib. x. c. 12. 19-22. dec. 8. lib. i. c. 1-3. Benzo, lib. iii. c. 12.

that he must either boldly aim at all, or attempt nothing. From the time that Pizarro obtained possession of the government of Peru, he inculcated the same maxim with greater earnestness. Upon receiving an account of the victory at Quito, he remonstrated with him in a tone still more peremptory. „ You have usurped (said he, in a letter written to Pizarro on that occasion) the supreme power in this country, in contempt of the emperor's commission to the viceroy. You have marched, in hostile array, against the royal standard; you have attacked the representative of your sovereign in the field, have defeated him, and cut off his head. Think not that ever a monarch will forgive such insults on his dignity, or that any reconciliation with him can be cordial or sincere. Depend no longer on the precarious favour of another. Assume yourself the sovereignty over a country, to the dominion of which your family has a title founded on the rights both of discovery and conquest. It is in your power to attach every Spaniard in Peru of any consequence inviolably to your interest by liberal grants of lands and of Indians, or by instituting ranks of nobility, and creating titles of honour similar to those which are courted with so much eagerness in Europe. By establishing orders of knighthood, with privileges and distinctions resembling those in Spain, you may bestow a gratification upon the offi-

cers in your service, suited to the ideas of military men. Nor is it to your countrymen only that you ought to attend; endeavour to gain the natives. By marrying the Coya, or daughter of the Sun next in succession to the crown, you will induce the Indians, out of veneration for the blood of their ancient princes, to unite with the Spaniards in support of your authority. Thus, at the head of the ancient inhabitants of Peru, as well as of the new settlers there, you may set at defiance the power of Spain, and repel with ease any feeble force which it can send at such a distance." Cepeda, the lawyer, who was now Pizarro's confidential counsellor, warmly seconded Carvajal's exhortations, and employed whatever learning he possessed in demonstrating, that all the founders of great monarchies had been raised to pre-eminence, not by the antiquity of their lineage, or the validity of their rights, but by their own aspiring valour and personal merit. z)

But chuses to negotiate with the court of Spain.

Pizarro listened attentively to both, and could not conceal the satisfaction with which he contemplated the object that they presented to his view. But happily for the tranquillity of the world, few men possess that superior strength of mind, and extent of abilities, which are

z) Vega, p. II. lib. iv. c. 40. Fernandez, lib. i. c. 34. lib. ii. c. I. 49. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 10.

capable of forming and executing such daring schemes, as cannot be accomplished without overturning the established order of society, and violating those maxims of duty which men are accustomed to hold sacred. The mediocrity of Pizarro's talents circumscribed his ambition within more narrow limits. Instead of aspiring at independent power, he confined his views to the obtaining from the court of Spain a confirmation of the authority which he now possessed; and for that purpose, he sent an officer of distinction thither, to give such a representation of his conduct, and of the state of the country, as might induce the emperor and his ministers, either from inclination or from necessity, to continue him in his present station.

Consultations of the Spanish ministers.

While Pizarro was deliberating with respect to the part which he should take, consultations were held in Spain, with no less solicitude, concerning the measures which ought to be pursued in order to reestablish the emperor's authority in Peru. Though unacquainted with the last excesses of outrage to which the malcontents had proceeded there, the court had received an account of the insurrection against the viceroy, of his imprisonment, and the usurpation of the government by Pizarro. A revolution so alarming called for an immediate interposition of the emperor's abilities

and authority. But as he was fully occupied at that time in Germany, in conducting the war against the famous league of Smalkalde, one of the most interesting and arduous enterprises in his reign, the care of providing a remedy for the disorders in Peru devolved upon his son Philip, and the counsellors whom Charles had appointed to assist him in the government of Spain during his absence. At first view, the actions of Pizarro and his adherents appeared so repugnant to the duty of subjects towards their sovereign, that the greater part of the ministers insisted on declaring them instantly to be guilty of rebellion, and on proceeding to punish them with exemplary rigour. But when the fervour of their zeal and indignation began to abate, innumerable obstacles to the execution of this measure presented themselves. The veteran bands of infantry, the strength and glory of the Spanish armies, were then employed in Germany. Spain, exhausted of men and money by a long series of wars, in which she had been involved by the restless ambition of two successive monarchs, could not easily equip an armament of sufficient force to reduce Pizarro. To transport any respectable body of troops to a country so remote as Peru, appeared almost impossible. While Pizarro continued master of the South-Sea, the direct route by Nombre de Dios and Panama was impracticable. An attempt to march to Quito by

land through the new kingdom of Granada, and the province of Popayan, across regions of vast extent, desolate, unhealthy, or inhabited by fierce and hostile tribes, would be attended with unsurmountable danger and hardships. The passage to the South-Sea by the Straits of Magellan was so tedious, so uncertain, and so little known in that age, that no confidence could be placed in any effort carried on in a course of navigation so remote and precarious. Nothing then remained but to relinquish the system which the ardour of their loyalty had first suggested, and to attempt by lenient measures what could not be effected by force. It was manifest, from Pizarro's solicitude to represent his conduct in a favourable light to the emperor, that, notwithstanding the excesses of which he had been guilty, he still retained sentiments of veneration for his sovereign. By a proper application to these, together with some such concessions as should discover a spirit of moderation and forbearance in government, he might be yet reclaimed, or the ideas of loyalty natural to Spaniards might so far revive among his followers, that they would no longer lend their aid to uphold his usurped authority.

Gasca appointed to repair to Peru as president.

The success, however, of this negotiation no less delicate than it was important, depend-

ed entirely on the abilities and address of the person to whom it should be committed. After weighing with much attention the comparative merit of various persons, the Spanish ministers fixed with unanimity of choice upon Pedro de la Gasca, a priest in no higher station than that of counsellor to the Inquisition. Though in no publick office, he had been occasionally employed by government in affairs of trust and consequence, and had conducted them with no less skill than success; displaying a gentle and insinuating temper, accompanied with much firmness; probity, superior to any concerting measures, followed by such vigour in feeling of private interest; and a cautious circumspection in executing them, as is rarely found in alliance with the other. These qualities marked him out for the function to which he was destined. The emperor, to whom Gasca was not unknown, warmly approved of the choice, and communicated it to him in a letter, containing expressions of good-will and confidence, no less honourable to the prince who wrote, than to the subject who received it. Gasca, notwithstanding his advanced age and feeble constitution, and though, from the apprehensions natural to a man, who, during the course of his life, had never been out of his own country, he dreaded the effects of a
long

long voyage, and of an unhealthy climate, a) did not hesitate a moment about complying with the will of his sovereign.

His moderation.

But as a proof that it was from this principle alone he acted, he refused a bishoprick which was offered to him, in order that he might appear in Peru with a more dignified character; he would accept of no higher title than that of president of the court of audience in Lima; and declared that he would receive no salary on account of his discharging the duties of that office. All he required was, that the expence of supporting his family should be defrayed by the publick, and as he was to go like a minister of peace with his gown and breviary, and without any retinue but a few domesticks, this would not load the revenue with any enormous burden. b)

The powers committed to him.

But while he discovered such disinterested moderation with respect to whatever related personally to himself, he demanded his official powers in a very different tone. He insisted,

a) Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 17.

b) Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6. Gomara, c. 174. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 14 - 16. Vega, p. II. lib. v. c. 1. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. i. c. 4, &c.

as he was to be employed in a country so remote from the seat of government, where he could not have recourse to his sovereign for new instructions on every emergence; and as the whole success of his negotiations must depend upon the confidence which the people with whom he had to treat could place in the extent of his powers, that he ought to be invested with unlimited authority; that his jurisdiction must reach to all persons and to all causes; that he must be empowered to pardon, to punish, or to reward, as circumstances and the behaviour of different men might require; that, in case of resistance from the malcontents, he might be authorised to reduce them to obedience by force of arms, to levy troops for that purpose, and to call for assistance from the governors of all the Spanish settlements in America. These powers, though manifestly conducive to the great objects of his mission, appeared to the Spanish ministers to be inalienable prerogatives of royalty, which ought not to be delegated to a subject, and they refused to grant them. But the emperor's views were more enlarged. As from the nature of his employment, Gasca must be entrusted with discretionary power in several points, and all his efforts might prove ineffectual if he was circumscribed in any one particular, Charles scrupled not to invest him with authority to the full extent that he demanded. Highly satisfied with this fresh proof of his

master's confidence, Gasca hastened his departure, and, without either money or troops, set out (May 26. 1546.) to quell a formidable rebellion. c)

His arrival at Panama.

On his arrival at Nombre de Dios, he found Hernan Mexia, an officer of note, posted there, by order of Pizarro, with a considerable body of men, to oppose the landing of any hostile forces. But Gasca appeared in such pacifick guise, with a train so little formidable, and with a title of no such dignity as to excite terror, that he was received with much respect. From Nombre de Dios he advanced (July 27.) to Panama, and met with a similar reception from Hinojosa, whom Pizarro had entrusted with the government of that town, and the command of his fleet stationed there. In both places he held the same language, declaring that he was sent by their sovereign as a messenger of peace, not as a minister of vengeance; that he came to redress all their grievances, to revoke the laws which had excited alarm, to pardon past offences, and to reestablish order and justice in the government of Peru. His mild deportment, the simplicity of his manners, the sanctity of his profession, and a winning appearance of candour, gained credit to his declarations.

I 2

c) Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 16 - 18.

The veneration due to a person clothed with legal authority, and acting in virtue of a royal commission, began to revive among men accustomed for some time to nothing more respectable than an usurped jurisdiction. Hinojosa, Mexia, and several other officers of distinction, to each of whom Gasca applied separately, were gained over to his interest, and waited only for some decent occasion of declaring openly in his favour. d)

Violent proceedings of Pizarro.

This the violence of Pizarro soon afforded them. As soon as he heard of Gasca's arrival at Panama, though he received, at the same time, an account of the nature of his commission, and was informed of his offers to render every Spaniard in Peru easy concerning what was past, by an act of general oblivion; and secure, with respect to the future, by repealing the obnoxious laws; instead of accepting with gratitude his sovereign's gracious concessions, he was so much exasperated on finding that he was not to be continued in his station as governor of the country, that he instantly resolved to oppose the president's entry into Peru, and to prevent his exercising any jurisdiction there. To this desperate resolution he added another highly preposterous. He sent a

d) Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 21, &c. Zarate, lib. vi. c. 6, 7.
Gomara, c. 175. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 3.

new deputation to Spain to justify this conduct, and to insist, in name of all the communities in Peru, for a confirmation of the government to himself during life, as the only means of preserving tranquillity there. The persons entrusted with this strange commission, intimated the intention of Pizarro to the president, and required him, in his name, to depart from Panama and return to Spain. They carried likewise secret instructions to Hinojosa, directing him to offer Gasca a present of fifty thousand pesos, if he would comply voluntarily with what was demanded of him; and if he should continue obstinate, to cut him off either by assassination or poison. e)

Gasca gains his fleet.

Many circumstances concurred in pushing on Pizarro to those wild measures. Having been once accustomed to supreme command, he could not bear the thoughts of descending to a private station. Conscious of his own demerit, he suspected that the emperor studied only to deceive him, and would never pardon the outrages which he had committed. His chief confidants, no less guilty, entertained the same apprehensions. The approach of Gasca without any military force excited no terror. There were now above six thousand Spaniards settled in Peru; f) and at

e) Zarate, lib. vi. c. 8. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 33. 34.

Herrera, dec. 8. lib. ii. c. 9, 10.

f) Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iii. c. 1.

the head of these he doubted not to maintain his own independence, if the court of Spain should refuse to grant what he required. But he knew not that a spirit of defection had already begun to spread among those whom he trusted most. Hinojosa, amazed at Pizarro's precipitate resolution of setting himself in opposition to the emperor's commission, and disdaining to be his instrument in perpetrating the odious crimes pointed out in his secret instructions, publicly recognized the title of the president to the supreme authority in Peru. The officers under his command did the same. Such was the contagious influence of the example, that it reached even the deputies who had been sent from Peru; and at the time when Pizarro expected to hear either of Gasca's return to Spain, or of his death, he received an account of his being master of the fleet, of Panama, and of the troops stationed there.

Pizarro resolves on war.

Irritated almost to madness by an event so unexpected, he openly prepared for war; (1547.) and in order to give some colour of justice to his arms, he appointed the court of audience in Lima to proceed to the trial of Gasca, for the crimes of having seized his ships, seduced his officers, and prevented his deputies from proceeding in their voyage to Spain. Cepeda, though acting as a judge in virtue of the royal

commission, did not scruple to prostitute the dignity of his function by finding Gasca guilty of treason, and condemning him to death on that account. g) Wild, and even ridiculous, as this proceeding was, it imposed on the low illiterate adventurers, with whom Peru was filled, by the semblance of a legal sanction warranting Pizarro to carry on hostilities against a convicted traitor. Soldiers accordingly resorted from every quarter to his standard, and he was soon at the head of a thousand men, the best equipped that had ever taken the field in Peru.

Preparations of Gasca.

Gasca, on his part, perceiving that force must be employed in order to accomplish the purpose of his mission, was no less assiduous in collecting troops from Nicaragua, Carthagena, and other settlements on the continent; and with such success, that he was soon in a condition to detach a squadron of his fleet, with a considerable body of soldiers, to the coast of Peru. Their appearance (April 1547.) excited a dreadful alarm; and though they did not attempt for some time to make any descent, they did more effectual service, by setting ashore in different places persons who dispersed copies of the act of general indemnity, and the revocation of the late edicts; and who made known every where the

g) Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 55. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 7. Herrera, d ec. 8. lib. iii. c. 6.

pacifick intentions, as well as mild temper, of the president. The effect of spreading this information was wonderful. All who were dissatisfied with Pizarro's violent administration, all who retained any sentiments of fidelity to their sovereign, began to meditate revolt. Some openly deserted a cause which they now deemed to be unjust.

In surrection of Centeno,

Centeno, leaving the cave in which he lay concealed, assembled about fifty of his former adherents, and with this feeble half-armed band advanced boldly to Cuzco. By a sudden attack in the night-time, in which he displayed no less military skill than valour, he rendered himself master of that capital, though defended by a garrison of five hundred men. Most of these having ranged themselves under his banners, he had soon the command of a respectable body of troops. h)

against whom Pizarro marches,

Pizarro, though astonished at beholding one enemy approaching by sea, and another by land, at a time when he trusted to the union of all Peru in his favour, was of a spirit more undaunted, and more accustomed to the vicissitudes of fortune, than to be disconcerted or appalled. As the danger from

h) Zarate, lib. vi. c. 13 - 16. Gomara, c. 180, 181. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 28. 64, &c.

Centeno's operations was the most urgent, he instantly set out to oppose him. Having provided horses for all his soldiers, he marched with amazing rapidity. But every morning he found his force diminished, by numbers who had left him during the night; and though he became suspicious to excess, and punished without mercy all whom he suspected, the rage of desertion was too violent to be checked. Before he got within sight of the enemy at Huarina, near the lake Titiaca, he could not muster more than four hundred soldiers. But these he justly considered as men of tried attachment, on whom he might depend. They were indeed the boldest and most desperate of his followers, conscious like himself of crimes for which they could hardly expect forgiveness; and without any hope but in the success of their arms. With these he did not hesitate to attack (October 20. 1547.) Centeno's troops, though double to his own in number. The royalists did not decline the combat. It was the most obstinate and bloody that had hitherto been fought in Peru.

and defeats him.

At length the intrepid valour of Pizarro, and the superiority of Carvajal's military talents, triumphed over numbers, and obtained a complete victory. The booty was immense, i) and

i) See NOTE XVII.

the treatment of the vanquished cruel. By this single success the reputation of Pizarro was re-established, and being now deemed invincible in the field, his army increased daily in number. k)

Gasca lands at Peru.

But events happened in other parts of Peru which more than counterbalanced the splendid victory at Huarina. Pizarro had scarcely left Lima, when the citizens, weary of his oppressive dominion, erected the royal standard, and Aldana, with a detachment of soldiers from the fleet, took possession of the town. About the same time, l) the president landed at Tumbes with five hundred men. Encouraged by his presence, every settlement in the low country declared for the king. The situation of the two parties was now perfectly reversed; Cuzco and the adjacent provinces were possessed by Pizarro; all the rest of the empire, from Quito southward, acknowledged the jurisdiction of Gasca. As his numbers augmented fast, Gasca advanced into the interior part of the country. His behaviour still continued to be gentle and unassuming; he expressed, on every occasion, his ardent wish of terminating the

k) Zarate, lib. vii. c. 2, 3. Gomara, c. 181. Vega, p. 11. lib. v. c. 18, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 79. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 1, 2.

l) Zarate, lib. vi. c. 17.

contest without bloodshed. More solicitous to reclaim than to punish, he upbraided no man for past offences, but received them as a father receives penitent children returning to a sense of their duty. Though desirous of peace, he did not slacken his preparations for war. He appointed the general rendezvous of his troops in the fertile valley of Xauxa, on the road to Cuzco. m)

Advances towards Cuzco.

There he remained for some months, not only that he might have time to make another attempt towards an accommodation with Pizarro, but that he might train his new soldiers to the use of arms, and accustom them to the discipline of a camp, before he led them against a body of victorious veterans. Pizarro, intoxicated with the success which had hitherto accompanied his arms, and elated with having again near a thousand men under his command, refused to listen to any terms, although Cepeda, together with several of his officers, and even Carvajal himself, n) gave it as their advice to close with the president's offer of a general indemnity, and the revocation of the obnoxious laws. o) Gasca having tried in vain every expedient to avoid imbruing his hands in

m) Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 77, 82.

n) See NOTE XVIII.

o) Zarate. lib. vii. c. 6. Vega, p. II. lib. v. c. 27.

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the blood of his countrymen, began (Dec. 29, 1547.) to move towards Cuzco, at the head of sixteen hundred men.

Both parties prepare for battle.

Pizarro, confident of victory, suffered the royalists to pass all the rivers which lie between Guamanga and Cuzco without opposition, and to advance within four leagues of that capital, flattering himself that a defeat in such a situation as rendered a retreat impracticable would at once terminate the war. He then marched out to meet the enemy, and Carvajal chose his ground, and made the disposition of the troops with the discerning eye, and profound knowledge in the art of war, conspicuous in all his operations. As the two armies moved forward slowly (April 9. 1548.) to the charge, the appearance of each was singular. In that of Pizarro, composed of men enriched with the spoils of the most opulent country in America, every officer, and almost all the private men were clothed in stuffs of silk, or brocade, embroidered with gold and silver; and their horses, their arms, their standards, were adorned with all the pride of military pomp. p) That of Gasca, though not so splendid, exhibited what was no less striking. He himself, accompanied by the archbishop of Lima, the bishops of Quito and Cuzco, and a great number

p) Zarate, lib. vi. c. II.

of ecclesiasticks, marching along the lines, blessing the men, and encouraging them to a resolute discharge of their duty.

Pizarro deserted by his troops,

When both were just ready to engage, Cepeda set spurs to his horse, galloped off, and surrendered himself to the president. Garcilasso de la Vega, and other officers of note, followed his example. The revolt of persons in such high rank struck all with amazement. The mutual confidence on which the union and strength of armies depend, ceased at once. Distrust and consternation spread from rank to rank. Some silently slipped away, others threw down their arms, the greatest number went over to the royalists. Pizarro, Carvajal, and some leaders, employed authority, threats, and entreaties, to stop them, but in vain. In less than half an hour, a body of men, which might have decided the fate of the Peruvian empire, was totally dispersed. Pizarro, seeing all irretrievably lost, cried out in amazement to a few officers who still faithfully adhered to him: „What remains for us to do?“ „Let us rush, replied one of them, upon the enemy's firmest battalion, and die like Romans.“ Dejected with such a reverse of fortune, he had not spirit to follow this soldierly counsel, and with a tameness disgraceful to his former fame, he surrendered to one of Gasca's officers.

Carvajal, endeavouring to escape, was overtaken and seized.

taken, and put to death.

Gasca, happy in this bloodless victory, did not stain it with cruelty. Pizarro, Carvajal, and a small number of the most distinguished or notorious offenders, were punished capitally. Pizarro was beheaded on the day after he surrendered. He submitted to his fate with a composed dignity, and seemed desirous to atone by repentance for the crimes which he had committed. The end of Carvajal was suitable to his life. On his trial he offered no defence. When the sentence adjudging him to be hanged was pronounced, he carelessly replied : „ One can die but once. “ During the interval between the sentence and execution, he discovered no sign either of remorse for the past, or of solicitude about the future; scoffing at all who visited him, in his usual sarcastic vein of mirth, with the same quickness of repartee and gross pleasantry as at any other period of his life. Cepeda, more criminal than either, ought to have shared the same fate; but the merit of having deserted his associates at such a critical moment, and with such decisive effect, saved him from immediate punishment. He was sent, however, as a prisoner to Spain, and died in confinement. q)

q) Zarate, lib. vii. c. 6, 7, 8. Gomara, c. 185, 186. Vega, p. II. lib. v. c. 30, &c. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 86, &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 14, &c.

In the minute detail which the contemporary historians have given of the civil dissensions that raged in Peru, with little interruption, during ten years, many circumstances occur so striking, and which indicate such an uncommon state of manners, as to merit particular attention.

No mercenary soldiers in the civil wars of Peru.

Though the Spaniards who first invaded Peru were of the lowest order in society, and the greater part of those who afterwards joined them were persons of desperate fortune, yet in all the bodies of troops brought into the field by the different leaders who contended for superiority, not one man acted as a hired soldier that follows his standard for pay. Every adventurer in Peru considered himself as a conqueror, entitled, by his services, to an establishment in that country which had been acquired by his valour. In the contests between the rival chiefs, each chose his side as he was directed by his own judgment or affections. He joined his commander as a companion of his fortune, and disdained to degrade himself by receiving the wages of a mercenary. It was to their sword, not to pre-eminence in office, or nobility of birth, that most of the leaders whom they followed were indebted for their elevation; and each of their adherents hoped,

by the same means, to open a way for himself to the possession of power and wealth. r)

Armies immensely expensive;

But though the troops in Peru served without any regular pay, they were raised at immense expense. Among men accustomed to divide the spoils of an opulent country, the desire of obtaining wealth acquired incredible force. The ardour of pursuit augmented in proportion to the hope of success. Where all were intent on the same object, and under the dominion of the same passion, there was but one mode of gaining men, or of securing their attachment. Officers of name and influence, besides the promise of future establishments, received in hand large gratuities from the chief with whom they engaged. Gonzalo Pizarro, in order to raise a thousand men, advanced five hundred thousand pesos. s) Gasca expended in levying the troops which he led against Pizarro nine hundred thousand pesos. t) The distribution of property, bestowed as the reward of services, was still more exorbitant. Cepeda, as the recompence of his perfidy and address, in persuading the court of royal audience to give the sanction of its authority to the usurped jurisdiction of Pizarro, received

r) Vega, p. II. lib. iv. c. 38. 41.

s) Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 54.

t) Zarate, lib. vii. c. 10. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. v. c. 7.

received a grant of lands which yielded an annual income of a hundred and fifty thousand pesos. u) Hinojosa, who, by his early defection from Pizarro, and surrender of the fleet to Gasca, decided the fate of Peru, obtained a district of country affording two hundred thousand pesos of yearly value. x) While such rewards were dealt out to the principal officers, with more than royal munificence, proportional shares were conferred upon those of inferior rank.

Their profusion and luxury.

Such a rapid change of fortune produced its natural effects. It gave birth to new wants, and new desires. Veterans, long accustomed to hardship and toil, acquired of a sudden a taste for profuse and inconsiderate dissipation, and indulged in all the excesses of military licentiousness. The riot of low debauchery occupied some; a relish for expensive luxuries spread among others. y) The meanest soldier in Peru would have thought himself degraded by marching on foot; and at a time when the prices of horses in that country were exorbitant, each insisted on being furnished with one before he would take the field. But though less patient under the fatigue and hardships of service,

u) Gomara, c. 164.

x) Vega, p. 11. lib. vi. c. 3.

y) Herrera, dec. 15. lib. ii. c. 3. dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 10.

they were ready to face danger and death with as much intrepidity as ever; and animated by the hope of new rewards, they never failed, on the day of battle, to display all their ancient valour.

Ferocity with which their contests were carried on;

Together with their courage, they retained all the ferocity by which they were originally distinguished. Civil discord never raged with a more fell spirit than among the Spaniards in Peru. To all the passions which usually envenom contests among countrymen, avarice was added, and rendered their enmity more rancorous. Eagerness to seize the valuable forfeitures expected upon the death of every opponent, shut the door against mercy. To be wealthy, was of itself sufficient to expose a man to accusation, or to subject him to punishment. On the slightest suspicions, Pizarro condemned many of the most opulent inhabitants in Peru to death. Carvajal, without searching for any pretext to justify his cruelty, cut off many more. The number of those who suffered by the hand of the executioner, was not much inferior to what fell in the field; ²) and the greater part was condemned without the formality of any legal trial.

²) See NOTE XIX.

and want of faith.

The violence with which the contending parties treated their opponents was not accompanied with its usual attendants, attachment and fidelity to those with whom they acted. The ties of honour which are held sacred among soldiers, and the principle of integrity, interwoven as thoroughly in the Spanish character as in that of any nation, seem to have been equally forgotten. Even regard for decency, and the sense of shame, were totally lost. During their dissensions, there was hardly a Spaniard in Peru who did not abandon the party which he had originally espoused, betray the associates with whom he had united, and violate the engagements under which he had come. The viceroy Nugnez Vela was ruined by the treachery of Cepeda and the other judges of the royal audience, who were bound by the duties of their function to have supported his authority. The chief advisers and companions of Gonzalo Pizarro's revolt were the first to forsake him, and submit to his enemies. His fleet was given up to Gasca, by the man whom he had singled out among his officers to entrust with that important command. On the day that was to decide his fate, an army of veterans in fight of the enemy, threw down their arms without striking a blow, and deserted a leader who had often conducted them to victory. Instances of

such general and avowed contempt of the principles and obligations which attach man to man, and bind them together in social union, rarely occur in history. It is only where men are far removed from the seat of government, where the restraints of law and order are little felt, where the prospect of gain is unbounded, and where immense wealth may cover the crimes by which it is acquired, that we can find any parallel to the levity, the rapaciousness, the perfidy and corruption prevalent among the Spaniards in Peru.

Gasca devises employment for his soldiers.

On the death of Pizarro, the malcontents in every corner of Peru laid down their arms, and tranquillity seemed to be perfectly reestablished. But two very interesting objects still remained to occupy the president's attention. The one was to find immediately such employment for a multitude of turbulent and daring adventurers with which the country was filled, as might prevent them from exciting new commotions. The other, to bestow proper gratifications upon those to whose loyalty and valour he was indebted for his success. The former of these was in some measure accomplished, by appointing Pedro de Valdivia to prosecute the conquest of Chili; and by empowering Diego Centeno to undertake the discovery of the vast regions bordering on the

river De la Plata. The reputation of those leaders, and the hopes of acquiring wealth, and rising to consequence in some unexplored country alluring many of the most indigent and desperate soldiers to follow their standards, drained off no inconsiderable portion of that mutinous spirit which Gasca dreaded.

His division of the country among his followers.

The latter was an affair of greater difficulty, and to be adjusted with a more attentive and delicate hand. The repartimientos, or allotments of lands and Indians which fell to be distributed, in consequence of the death or forfeiture of the former possessors, exceeded two millions of pesos of yearly rent. a) Gasca, when now absolute master of this immense property, retained the same disinterested sentiments which he had originally professed, and refused to reserve the smallest portion of it for himself. But the number of claimants was great; and whilst the vanity or avarice of every individual fixed the value of his own services, and estimated the recompence which he thought due to him, the pretensions of each were so extravagant, that it was impossible to satisfy all. Gasca listened to them one by one, with the most patient attention; and that he might have leisure to weigh the comparative merit of their several claims with accuracy, he retired,

a) Vega, p. II. lib. vi. c. 4.

with the archbishop of Lima and a single secretary, to a village twelve leagues from Cuzco. There he spent several days in allotting to each a district of lands and number of Indians, in proportion to his idea of their past services and future importance. But that he might get beyond the reach of the fierce storm of clamour and rage, which he foresaw would burst out on the publication of his decree, notwithstanding the impartial equity with which he had framed it, he set out for Lima, leaving the instrument of partition sealed up, with orders not to open it for some days after his departure.

The discontent it occasions.

The indignation excited by publishing the decree of partition was not less than Gasca had expected. Vanity, avarice, emulation, envy, shame, rage, and all the other passions which most vehemently agitate the minds of men when both their honour and their interest are deeply affected, conspired in adding to its violence. It broke out with all the fury of military insolence. Calomny, threats, and curses were poured out openly upon the president. He was accused of ingratitude, of partiality, and of injustice. Among soldiers prompt to action, such seditious discourse would have been soon followed by deeds no less violent, and they already began to turn their eyes towards some discontented leaders, expecting

them to stand forth in redress of their wrongs. By some vigorous interpositions of government, a timely check was given to this mutinous spirit, and the danger of another civil war was averted for the present. b)

Reestablishes order and government, and sets out for Spain.

Gasca, however, perceiving that the flame was suppressed rather than extinguished, laboured with the utmost assiduity to soothe the malcontents, by bestowing large gratuities on some, by promising repartimientos, when they fell vacant, - to others, and by caressing and flattering all. But that the publick security might rest on a foundation more stable than their good affection, he endeavoured to strengthen the hands of his successors in office, by reestablishing the regular administration of justice in every part of the empire. He introduced order and simplicity into the mode of collecting the royal revenue. He issued regulations concerning the treatment of the Indians, well calculated to protect them from oppression, and to provide for their instruction in the principles of religion, without depriving the Spaniards of the benefit accruing from their labour. Having now accomplished every object of his mission, Gasca, longing to return again to a

b) Zarate, lib. vii. c. 9. Gomara, c. 187. Vega, p. 11. lib. vii. c. 1, &c. Fernandez, p. 11. lib. i. c. 1. &c. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 17, &c.

private station, committed the government of Peru to the court of audience, and set out for Spain, (Feb. 1. 1550.) As, during the anarchy and turbulence of the four last years, there had been no remittance made of the royal revenue, he carried with him thirteen hundred thousand pesos of publick money, which the oeconomy and order of his administration enabled him to save, after paying all the expences of the war.

His reception there.

He was received in his native country with universal admiration of his abilities, and of his virtue. Both were, indeed highly conspicuous. Without army, or fleet, or publick funds; with a train so simple, that only three thousand ducats were expended in equipping him, c) he set out to oppose a formidable rebellion. By his address and talents he supplied all those defects, and seemed to create instruments for executing his designs. He acquired such a naval force, as gave him the command of the sea. He raised a body of men able to cope with the veteran bands which gave law to Peru. He vanquished their leader, on whose arms victory had hitherto attended, and in place of anarchy and usurpation, he established the government of laws, and the authority of the rightful sovereign. But the

c) Fernandez, lib. II. c. 18.

praise bestowed on his abilities was exceeded by that which his virtue merited. After residing in a country where wealth presented allurements which had seduced every person who had hitherto possessed power there, he returned from that trying station with integrity not only untainted but unsuspected. After distributing among his countrymen possessions of greater extent and value than had ever been in the disposal of a subject in any age or nation, he himself remained in his original state of poverty; and at the very time, when he brought such a large recruit to the royal treasury, he was obliged to apply by petition for a small sum to discharge some petty debts which he had contracted during the course of his service. d) Charles was not insensible to such disinterested merit. Gasca was received by him with the most distinguishing marks of esteem, and being promoted to the bishoprick of Palencia, he passed the remainder of his days in the tranquillity of retirement, respected by his country, honoured by his sovereign, and beloved by all.

Notwithstanding all Gasca's wise regulations, the tranquillity of Peru was not of long continuance. In a country, where the authority of government was almost forgotten during the long prevalence of anarchy and misrule, where there were disappointed leaders

d) MS. penes me.

ripe for revolt, and seditious soldiers ready to follow them, it was not difficult to raise combustion. Several successive insurrections desolated the country for some years. But as those, though fierce, were only transient storms, excited rather by the ambition and turbulence of particular men, than by general or public motives, the detail of them is not the object of this history. These commotions in Peru, like every thing of extreme violence either in the natural or political body, were not of long duration, and by carrying off the corrupted humours which had given rise to the disorders, they contributed in the end to strengthen the society which at first they threatened to destroy. During their fierce contests, several of the first invaders of Peru, and many of those licentious adventurers whom the fame of their success had allured thither, fell by each other's hands. Each of the parties, as they alternately prevailed in the struggle, cleared the country of a greater number, by executing, proscribing, or banishing their opponents. Men less enterprising, less desperate, and more accustomed to move in the path of sober and peaceable industry, settled in Peru; and the royal authority was gradually established, as firmly there as in the other Spanish colonies.

BOOK VII.

As the conquest of the two great empires of Mexico and Peru forms the most splendid and interesting period in the history of America, a view of their political institutions, and a description of their national manners, will exhibit the human species to the {contemplation of intelligent observers in a very singular stage of his progress. a)

Mexico and Peru more polished than other parts of America.

When compared with other parts of the New World, Mexico and Peru may be considered as polished states. Instead of small, independent, hostile tribes, struggling for subsistence amidst woods and marshes, strangers to industry and arts, unacquainted with subordination, and almost without the appearance of regular government, we find countries of great extent subjected to the dominion of one sovereign, the inhabitants collected together in cities, the wisdom and foresight of rulers employed in providing for the maintenance and security of the people, the empire of laws in some measure established, the authority of religion recognized, many of the arts essential to life brought to some degree of maturity, and the dawn of such as are ornamental beginning to appear.

a) See NOTE XX.

Their inferiority to the nations of the ancient continent.

But if the comparison be made with the people of the ancient continent, the inferiority of America in improvement will be conspicuous, and neither the Mexicans nor Peruvians will be entitled to rank with those nations which merit the name of civilized. The people of both the great empires in America, like the rude tribes around them, were totally unacquainted with the useful metals, and the progress which they had made in extending their dominion over the animal creation was inconsiderable. The Mexicans had gone no farther than to tame and rear turkeys, ducks, a species of small dogs, and rabbits. b) By this feeble essay of ingenuity, the means of subsistence were rendered somewhat more plentiful and secure, than when men depend solely on hunting; but they had no idea of attempting to subdue the more robust animals, or of deriving any aid from their ministry in carrying on works of labour. The Peruvians seem to have neglected the inferior animals, and had not rendered any of them domestick except the duck; but they were more fortunate in taming the Llama, an animal peculiar to their country, of a form which bears some resemblance to a deer, and some to a camel, and of a size somewhat larger than a sheep. Under the protection of man, this species multiplied greatly. Its wool furnished the

b) Herrera, dec. II. lib. vii. c. 12.

Peruvians with clothing, its flesh with food. It was even employed as a beast of burden, and carried a moderate load with much patience and docility. e) It was never used for draught; and the breed being confined to the mountainous country, its service if we may judge by incidents which occur in the early Spanish writers, was not very extensive among the Peruvians in their original state.

In tracing the line by which nations proceed towards civilization, the discovery of the useful metals, and the acquisition of dominion over the animal creation, have been marked as steps of capital importance in their progress. In our continent, long after men had attained both, society continued in that state which is denominated barbarous. Even with all that command over nature which these confer, many ages elapse, before industry becomes so perfect as to render subsistence secure, before the arts which supply the wants and furnish the accommodations of life are invented, and before any idea is conceived of the various institutions requisite in a well-ordered society. The Mexicans and Peruvians, without knowledge of the useful metals, or the aid of domestick animals, laboured under disadvantages, which must have greatly retarded their progress, and in their highest state of improvement their power was so limited, and their operations so feeble,

●) Vega, p. 1. lib. viii. c. 16. Zarate, lib. 1. c. 14.

that they can hardly be considered as having advanced beyond the infancy of civil life.

View of the institutions and manners of each.

After this general observation concerning the most singular and distinguishing circumstance in the state of both the great empires in America, I shall endeavour to give such a view of the constitution and interior police of each, as may enable us to ascertain their place in the political scale, to allot them their proper station between the rude tribes in the New World, and the polished states of the ancient, and to determine how far they had risen above the former, as well as how much they fell below the latter.

Imperfect information concerning those of Mexico.

Mexico was first subjected to the Spanish crown. But our acquaintance with its laws and manners is not, from that circumstance, more complete. What I have remarked concerning the defective and inaccurate information on which we must rely with respect to the condition and customs of the savage tribes in America, may be applied likewise to our knowledge of the Mexican empire. Cortes, and the rapacious adventurers who accompanied him, had not leisure or capacity to enrich either civil or natural history with new observations. They undertook their expedition in quest of one ob-

ject, and seemed hardly to have turned their eyes towards any other. Or if during some short interval of tranquillity, when the occupations of war ceased and the ardour of plunder was suspended, the institutions and manners of the people whom they had invaded drew their attention, the inquiries of illiterate soldiers were conducted with so little sagacity and precision, that the accounts given by them of the policy and order established in the Mexican monarchy are superficial, confused, and inexplicable. It is rather from incidents which they relate occasionally, than from their own deductions and remarks, that we are enabled to form some idea of the genius and manners of that people. The obscurity in which the ignorance of its conquerors involved the annals of Mexico, was augmented by the superstition of those who succeeded them. As the memory of past events was preserved among the Mexicans by figures painted on skins, on cotton cloth, or on the bark of trees, the early missionaries, unable to comprehend their meaning and struck with their uncouth forms, conceived them to be monuments of idolatry which ought to be destroyed, in order to facilitate the conversion of the Indians. In obedience to an edict issued by Juan de Zummaraga, a Franciscan monk, the first bishop of Mexico, those records of the ancient Mexican story which could be collected were committed to the flames. In consequence

of this fanatical zeal of the monks who first visited New Spain, and which their successors soon began to lament, whatever knowledge of remote events such rude monuments contained was almost entirely lost, and no information remained concerning the ancient revolutions and policy of the empire, but what was derived from tradition, or from some fragments of their historical paintings that escaped the barbarous researches of Zummaraga. d) From the experience of all nations it is manifest, that the memory of past transactions can neither be long preserved, nor be transmitted with any fidelity, by tradition. The Mexican paintings, which are supposed to have served as annals of their empire, are few in number, and of ambiguous meaning. Thus, amidst the uncertainty of the former, and the obscurity of the latter, we must glean what intelligence can be collected from the scanty materials scattered in the Spanish writers.

Origin of the Mexican monarchy.

According to the account of the Mexicans themselves their empire was not of long duration. Their country, as they relate, was originally possessed, rather than peopled, by small independent tribes, whose mode of life and manners resembled those of the rudest
savage

d) Acofta, lib. vi. c. 7. Torquem. Proem. lib. ii. lib. iii. c. 6. lib. xiv. c. 6.

savages which we have described. But about a period corresponding to the beginning of the tenth century in the Christian aera, several tribes moved in successive migrations from unknown regions towards the north and north-west, and settled in different provinces of Anabac, the ancient name of New Spain. These, more civilized than the original inhabitants, began to form them to the arts of social life. At length, towards the commencement of the thirteenth century, the Mexicans, a people more polished than any of the former, advanced from the border of the Californian gulf, and took possession of the plains adjacent to a great lake near the centre of the country. After residing there about fifty years they founded a town, since distinguished by the name of Mexico, which from humble beginnings soon grew to be the most considerable city in the New World. The Mexicans, long after they were established in their new possessions, continued, like other martial tribes in America, unacquainted with regal dominion, and were governed in peace, and conducted in war by such as were entitled to preeminence by their wisdom or their valour. But among them, as in other states whose power and territories become extensive, the supreme authority centred at last in a single person; and when the Spaniards under Cortes invaded the country, Montezuma was the ninth monarch

in order who had swayed the Mexican sceptre, not by hereditary right, but by election.

Very recent.

Such is the traditional tale of the Mexicans concerning the progress of their own empire. According to this, its duration was very short. From the first migration of their parent tribe, they can reckon little more than three hundred years. From the establishment of monarchical government, not above a hundred and thirty years, according to one account, e) or a hundred and ninety-seven, according to another computation, f) had elapsed. If, on one hand, we suppose the Mexican state to have been of higher antiquity, and to have subsisted during such a length of time as the Spanish accounts of its civilization would naturally lead us to conclude, it is difficult to conceive how, among a people who possessed the art of recording events by pictures, and who considered it as an essential part of their national education, to teach their children to repeat the historical songs which celebrated the exploits of their ancestors, g) the knowledge of past transactions should be so slender and limited. If, on the other hand, we adopt their own system with respect to the antiquities of their

e) Acoft. Hist. lib. vii. c. 8, &c.

f) Purchas Pilgr. iii. p. 1068, &c.

g) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18.

nation, it is no less difficult to account either for that improved state of society, or for the extensive dominion to which their empire had attained, when first visited by the Spaniards. The infancy of nations is so long, and, even when every circumstance is favourable to their progress, they advance so slowly towards any maturity of strength or policy, that the recent origin of the Mexicans seems to be a strong presumption of some exaggeration, in the splendid descriptions which have been given of their government and manners.

Facts which prove their progress in civilization.

But it is not by theory or conjectures that history decides, with regard to the state or character of nations. It produces facts as the foundation of every judgment which it ventures to pronounce. In collecting those which must regulate our opinion in the present inquiry, some occur that suggest an idea of considerable progress in civilization in the Mexican empire, and others which seem to indicate that it had advanced but little beyond the savage tribes around it. Both shall be exhibited to the view of the reader, that, from comparing them, he may determine on which side the evidence preponderates.

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The right of property fully established.

The right of private property was perfectly understood, and established in its full extent. Among several savage tribes, we have seen, that the idea of a title to the separate and exclusive possession of any object was hardly known; and that among all, it was extremely limited and ill-defined. But in Mexico, where agriculture and industry had made some progress, the distinction between real and moveable possessions; between property in land and property in goods, had taken place. Both might be transferred from one person to another by sale or barter; both might descend by inheritance. Every person who could be denominated a freeman had property in land: This, however, they held by various tenures. Some possessed it in full right, and it descended to their heirs. The title of others to their lands was derived from the office or dignity which they enjoyed; and when deprived, of the latter, they lost possession of the former. Both these modes of occupying land were deemed noble, and peculiar to citizens of the highest class. The tenure, by which the great body of the people held their property, was very different. In every district a certain quantity of land was measured out, in proportion to the number of families. This was cultivated by the joint labour of the whole; its produce was

deposited in a common store-house, and divided among them according to their respective exigencies. The members of the Calpullee, or associations, could not alienate their share of the common estate; it was an indivisible permanent property, destined for the support of their families. h) In consequence of this distribution of the territory of the state, every man had an interest in its welfare, and the happiness of the individual was connected with the publick security.

The number and greatness of their cities.

One of the most striking circumstances, which distinguishes the Mexican empire from those nations in America we have already described, is the number and greatness of its cities. While society continues in a rude state, the wants of men are so few, and they stand so little in need of mutual assistance, that their inducements to crowd together are extremely feeble. Their industry at the same time is so imperfect, that it cannot secure subsistence for any considerable number of families settled in one spot. They live dispersed, at this period, from choice as well as from necessity, or at the utmost assemble in small hamlets on the banks of the river which supplies them with food, or on the border of some plain left open by nature,

h) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Torquem. Mon. Ind. lib. xiv. c. 7. Corita, MS.

or cleared by their own labour. The Spaniards; accustomed to his mode of habitation among all the savage tribes with which they were then acquainted, were astonished, on entering New Spain, to find the natives residing in towns of such extent as resembled those of Europe. In the first fervour of their admiration, they compared Zempoalla, though a town only of the second or third size, to the cities of greatest note in their own country. When, afterwards, they visited in succession Tlascala, Cholula, Tacuba, Tezeuco, and Mexico itself, their amazement increased so much, that it led them to convey ideas of their magnitude and populousness bordering on what is incredible. Even when there is leisure for observation, and no interest that leads to deceive, conjectural estimates of the number of people in cities are extremely loose, and usually much exaggerated. It is not surprising then, that Cortes and his companions, little accustomed to such computations, and powerfully tempted to magnify, in order to exalt the merit of their own discoveries and conquests, should have been betrayed into this common error, and have raised their descriptions considerably above truth. For this reason, some considerable abatement ought to be made from their calculation of the number of inhabitants in the Mexican cities, and we may fix the standard of their population much lower than they have done; but still they will ap-

pear to be cities of such consequence, as are not to be found but among people who have made some considerable progress in the arts of social life. i) Mexico, the capital of the empire, seems to have contained sixty thousand inhabitants.

The separation of professions.

The separation of professions among the Mexicans is a symptom of improvement no less remarkable. Arts, in the early ages of society are so few and so simple, that each man is sufficiently master of them all, to gratify every demand of his own limited desires. The savage can form his bow, point his arrows, rear his hut, and hollow his canoe, without calling in the aid of any hand more skilful than his own. Time must have augmented the wants of men, and ripened their ingenuity, before the productions of art became so complicated in their structure, or so curious in their fabrick, that a particular course of education was requisite towards forming the artificer to expertness in contrivance and workmanship. In proportion as refinement spreads, the distinction of professions increases, and they branch out into more numerous and minute subdivisions. Among the Mexicans, this separation of the arts necessary in life had taken place to a considerable extent. The functions of the

i) See NOTE XXI.

maſon, the weaver, the goldſmith, the painter, and of ſeveral other crafts, were carried on by different perſons. Each was regularly inſtructed in his calling. To it alone his induſtry was confined; and by aſſiduous application to one object, together with the perfevering patience peculiar to Americans, their artizans attained to a degree of neatneſs and perfection in work, far beyond what could have been expected from the rude tools which they employed. Their various productions were brought into commerce; and by the exchange of them in the ſtated markets held in the cities, their mutual wants were ſupplied, k) in ſuch orderly intercourſe as characterizes an improved ſtate of ſociety.

The diſtinction of ranks.

The diſtinction of ranks eſtabliſhed in the Mexican empire is the next circumſtance that merits attention. In ſurveying the ſavage tribes of America, we obſerved, that conſciouſneſs of quality, and impatience of ſubordination, are ſentiments natural to man in the infancy of civil life. During peace, the authority of a ſuperior is hardly felt among them, and even in war it is but little acknowledged. Strangers to the idea of property, the difference in condition reſulting from the inequality of it is unknown.

k) Cortes Relat. ap. Ramuſ. iii. 239, &c. Gom. Cron. c. 79. Torquem. lib. xiii. c. 34. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 15; &c.

Birth or titles confer no preeminence; it is only by personal merit and accomplishments that distinction can be acquired. The form of society was very different among the Mexicans. The great body of the people was in a most humiliating state. A considerable number, known by the name of Mayeques, nearly resembling in condition those peasants who under various denominations, were considered, during the prevalence of the feudal system, as instruments of labour attached to the soil. The Mayeques could not change their place of residence without permission of the superior on whom they depended. They were conveyed, together with the lands on which they were settled, from one proprietor to another; and were bound to cultivate the ground, and to perform several kinds of servile work. 1) Others were reduced to the lowest form of subjection, that of domestick servitude, and felt the utmost rigour of that wretched state. Their condition was held to be so vile, and their lives deemed to be of so little value, that a person who killed one of those slaves was not subjected to any punishment: m) Even those considered as freemen were treated by their haughty lords as beings of an inferior species. The nobles, possessed of ample territories, were divided into various classes, to each of which peculiar titles of honour belong-

1) Herrera; dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Corita, MS.

m) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 7.

ed. Some of these titles like their lands, descended from father to son in perpetual succession. Others were annexed to particular offices, or conferred during life as marks of personal distinction. n) The monarch, exalted above all, enjoyed extensive power, and supreme dignity. Thus the distinction of ranks was completely established, in a line of regular subordination, reaching from the highest to the lowest member of the community. Each of these knew what he could claim, and what he owed. The people, who were not allowed to wear a dress of the same fashion, or to dwell in houses of a form similar to those of the nobles, accosted them with the most submissive reverence. In the presence of their sovereign, they durst not lift their eyes from the ground, or look him in the face. o) The nobles themselves, when admitted to an audience of their sovereign, entered barefooted, in mean garments, and, as his slaves, paid him homage approaching to adoration. This respect due from inferiors to those above them in rank, was established with such ceremonious accuracy, that it incorporated with the language, and influenced its genius and idiom. The Mexican tongue abounded in expressions of reverence and courtesy. The stile and appellations, used in the intercourse between equals, would have been so unbecoming in the mouth

n) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 15. Corita, MS.

o) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14.

of one in a lower sphere, when he accosted a person in higher rank, as to be deemed an insult. p) It is only in societies, which time and the institution of regular government have moulded into form, that we find such an orderly arrangement of men into different ranks, and such nice attention paid to their various rights.

Their political constitution.

The spirit of the Mexicans, thus familiarized and bended to subordination, was prepared for submitting to monarchical government. But the descriptions of their policy and laws, by the Spaniards who overturned them, are so inaccurate and contradictory, that it is difficult to delineate the form of their constitution with any precision. Sometimes they represent the monarchs of Mexico as absolute, deciding according to their pleasure, with respect to every operation of the state. On other occasions, we discover the traces of established customs and laws, framed in order to circumscribe the power of the crown, and we meet with rights and privileges of the nobles which seem to be opposed as barriers against its encroachments. This appearance of inconsistency has arisen from inattention to the innovations of Montezuma upon the Mexican policy. His aspiring ambition subverted the original system of government, and introduced a pure despotism. He disregarded

p) See NOTE XXII.

the ancient laws, violated the privileges held most sacred, and reduced his subjects of every order to the level of slaves. r) The chiefs, or nobles of the first rank, submitted to the yoke with such reluctance, that, from impatience to shake it off, and hope of recovering their rights, many of them courted the protection of Cortes, and joined a foreign power against their domestic oppressor. s) It is not then under the dominion of Montezuma, but under the government of his predecessors, that we can discover what was the original form and genius of Mexican policy. From the foundation of the monarchy to the election of Montezuma, it seems to have subsisted with little variation. That body of citizens, which may be distinguished by the name of nobility, formed the chief and most respectable order in the state. They were of various ranks, as has already been observed, and their honours were acquired and transmitted in different manners. Their number seems to have been great. According to an author accustomed to examine with attention what he relates, there were in the Mexican empire thirty of his order, each of whom had in his territories about a hundred thousand people, and subordinate to these, there were about three thousand nobles of a lower class. t) The ter-

r) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 14. Torquem. lib. ii. c. 69.

s) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. v. c. 10, 11. Torquem. lib. iv. c. 49.

t) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 12.

ritories belonging to the chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba, were hardly inferior in extent to those of the Mexican monarch. u) Each of these possessed complete territorial jurisdiction, and levied taxes from their own vassals. But all followed the standard of Mexico in war, serving with a number of men in proportion to their domain, and most of them paid tribute to its monarch as their superior lord.

In tracing those great lines of the Mexican constitution, an image of feudal policy in its most rigid form rises to view, and we discern its three distinguishing characteristics, a nobility possessing almost independent authority, a people depressed into the lowest state of subjection, and a king entrusted with the executive power of the state. Its spirit and principles seem to have operated in the New World in the same manner, as in the ancient. The jurisdiction of the crown was extremely limited. All real and effective authority was retained by the Mexican nobles in their own hands, and the shadow of it only left to the king. Jealous to excess of their own rights, they guarded with most vigilant anxiety against the encroachments of their sovereigns. By a fundamental law of the empire, it was provided that the king should not determine concerning any point of general importance, without the approbation of a council composed of the prime

u) Torquem. lib. ii. c. 57. Chorita, MS.

nobility. x) Unless he obtained their consent he could not engage the nation in war, nor could he dispose of the most considerable branch of the publick revenue at pleasure; it was appropriated to certain purposes from which it could not be diverted by the regal authority. y) In order to secure full effect to those constitutional restraints, the Mexican nobles did not permit their crown to descend by inheritance, but disposed of it by election: The right of election seems to have been originally vested in the whole body of nobility, but was afterwards committed to six electors, of whom the Chiefs of Tezeuco and Tacuba were always two. From respect for the family of their monarchs, the choice fell generally upon some person sprung from it. But as the activity and valour of their prince were of greater moment to a people perpetually engaged in war, than a strict adherence to the order of birth, collaterals of mature age or distinguished merit were often preferred to those who were nearer the throne in direct descent. z) To this maxim, in their policy, the Mexicans appear to be indebted for such a succession of able and warlike princes, as raised their empire in a short period to that extraordinary height of power, which

x) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 19. Id. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16. Corita, MS.

y) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17.

z) Acoſta, lib. vi. c. 24. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 13. Corita, MS.

it had attained when Cortes landed in New Spain.

Power and splendour of their monarchs.

While the jurisdiction of the Mexican monarchs continued to be limited, it is probable that it was exercised with little ostentation. But as their authority became more extensive, the splendour of their government augmented. It was in this last state that the Spaniards beheld it; and struck with the appearance of Montezuma's court, they describe its pomp at great length, and with much admiration. The number of his attendants, the order, the silence, and the reverence with which they served him; the vast extent of his royal mansion, the variety of its apartments allotted to different officers, and the ostentation with which his grandeur was displayed, whenever he permitted his subjects to behold him, seem to resemble the magnificence of the ancient monarchies in Asia, rather than the simplicity of the infant states in the New World.

Order of their government.

But it was not in the mere parade of royalty that the Mexican potentates exhibited their power, they manifested it more beneficially in the order and regularity with which they conducted the internal administration and police of

their dominions. Complete jurisdiction, civil as well as criminal, over its own immediate vassals, was vested in the crown. Judges were appointed for each department, and if we may rely on the account which the Spanish writers give of the maxims and laws upon which they founded their decisions with respect to the distribution of property and the punishment of crimes, justice was administered in the Mexican empire, with a degree of order and equity resembling what takes place in societies highly civilized.

Provision for the support of it.

Their attention in providing for the support of government was not less sagacious. Taxes were laid upon land, upon the acquisitions of industry, and upon commodities of every kind exposed to sale in the publick markets. These duties, though considerable, were not arbitrary, or unequal. They were imposed according to established rules, and each knew what share of the common burden he had to bear. As the use of money was unknown, all the taxes were paid in kind, and thus not only the natural productions of all the different provinces in the empire, but every species of manufacture, and every work of ingenuity and art, were collected in the publick store-houses. From those the emperor supplied his numerous train of attendants in peace, and his armies during

during war, with food, with clothes, and ornaments. People of inferior condition, neither possessing land nor engaged in commerce, were bound to the performance of various services. By their stated labour the crownlands were cultivated, publick works were carried on, and the various houses belonging to the emperor were built and kept in repair. a)

Their police.

The improved state of government among the Mexicans is conspicuous, not only in points essential to the being of a well-ordered society, but in several regulations of inferior consequence with respect to police. The institution, which I have already mentioned, of publick couriers, stationed at proper intervals, to convey intelligence from one part of the empire to the other, was a refinement in police not introduced into any kingdom of Europe at that period. The structure of the capital city in a lake, with artificial dykes, and causeways of great length, which served as avenues to it from different quarters, erected in the water, with no less ingenuity than labour, seems to be an idea that could not have occurred to any but a civilized people. The same observation may be applied to the structure of the aqueducts, or conduits, by which they conveyed a stream of fresh water, from a considerable distance, into the city, along one of the cause-

a) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16, 17.
See NOTE XXIII.

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ways. b) The appointment of a number of persons to clean the streets, to light them by fires kindled in different places, and to patrol as watchmen during the night, c) discovers a degree of attention which even polished nations are late in acquiring.

Their arts.

The progress of the Mexicans in various arts, is considered as the most decisive proof of their superior refinement. Cortes, and the early Spanish authors, describe this with rapture, and maintain, that the most celebrated European artists could not surpass or even equal them in ingenuity and neatness of workmanship. They represented men, animals, and other objects, by such a disposition of various coloured feathers, as is said to have produced all the effects of light and shade, and to have imitated nature with truth and delicacy. Their ornaments of gold and silver have been described to be of a fabrick no less curious. But in forming any idea, from general descriptions, concerning the state of arts among nations imperfectly polished, we are extremely ready to err. In examining the works of people whose advances in improvement are nearly the same

b) See NOTE XXIV.

c) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. viii. c. 4. Torribio, MS.

with our own, we view them with a critical, and often with a jealous eye. Whereas, when conscious of our own superiority, we survey the arts of nations comparatively rude, we are astonished at works executed by them under such manifest disadvantages, and, in the warmth of our admiration, are apt to represent them as productions more finished than they really are. To the influence of this illusion, without supposing any intention to deceive, we may impute the exaggeration of some Spanish authors, in their accounts of the Mexican arts.

It is not from those descriptions, but from considering such specimens of their arts as are still preserved, that we must decide concerning their degree of merit. As the ship in which Cortes sent to Charles V. the most curious productions of the Mexican artisans, which were collected by the Spaniards when they first pillaged the empire, was taken by a French corsair, d) the remains of their ingenuity are less numerous than those of the Peruvians. Whether any of their works with feathers, in imitation of painting, be still extant in Spain, I have not learned; but many of their ornaments in gold and silver, as well as various utensils

M 2

d) Relat. de Cort. Ramus. iii. 294. P.

employed in common life, are deposited in the magnificent cabinet of natural and artificial productions, lately opened by the king of Spain; and I am informed by persons on whose judgment and taste I can rely, that these boasted efforts of their art are uncouth representations of common objects, or very coarse images of the human and some other forms, destitute of grace and propriety. e) The justness of these observations is confirmed by inspecting the wooden prints or copper-plates of their paintings, which have been published by various authors. In them every figure of men, of quadrupeds, or birds, as well as every representation of inanimated nature, is extremely rude and awkward. The hardest Egyptian style, stiff and imperfect as it was, is more elegant. The scrawls of children delineate objects almost as accurately.

But however low the Mexican paintings may be ranked, when viewed merely as works of art, a very different station belongs to them when considered as the records of their country, as historical monuments of its policy and transactions; and they become curious as well as interesting objects of attention. The noblest and most beneficial invention of which human ingenuity can boast, is that of writing. But the first essays of this art, which hath contributed more than all

e) See NOTE XXV,

others to the improvement of the species, were very rude, and it advanced towards perfection slowly, and by a gradual progression. When the warrior, eager for fame wished to transmit some knowledge of his exploits to succeeding ages; when the gratitude of a people to their sovereign prompted them to hand down an account of his beneficent deeds to posterity, the first method of accomplishing this, that seems to have occurred to them, was to delineate, in the best manner they could, figures representing the action of which they were solicitous to preserve the memory. Of this, which has very properly been called picture-writing, f) we find traces among some of the most savage tribes of America. When a leader returns from the field, he strips a tree of its bark, and with red paint scratches upon it some uncouth figures, which represent the order of his march, the number of his followers, the enemy whom he attacked, the scalps and captives which he brought home. To those simple annals he trusts for renown, and soothes himself with hope that by their means he shall receive praise from the warriors of future times. g)

Compared with those awkward essays of their savage countrymen, the paintings of the

f) Divine Legat. of Moses, iii. 73.

g) Sir W. Johnson, Philos. Transact. vol. lxxiii. p. 143. Mem. de la Hontan, ii. 191. Lafitau, Mœurs de Sauv. ii. 43.

Mexicans may be considered as works of composition and design. They were not acquainted, it is true, with any other method of recording transactions, than that of delineating the objects which they wished to represent. But they could exhibit a more complex series of events in progressive order, and describe, by a proper disposition of figures, the occurrences of a king's reign from his accession to his death; the progress of an infant's education from its birth until it attained to the years of maturity; the different recompences and marks of distinction conferred upon warriors, in proportion to the exploits which they had performed. Some singular specimens of this picture-writing have been preserved, which are justly considered as the most curious monuments of art brought from the New World. The most valuable of these was published by Purchas in sixty-six plates. It is divided into three parts. The first contains the history of the Mexican empire under its ten monarchs. The second is a tribute-roll representing what each conquered town paid into the royal treasury. The third is a code of their institutions, domestick, political, and military. Another specimen of Mexican painting has been published in thirty-two plates, by the present archbishop of Toledo. To both are annexed a full explanation of what the figures were intended to represent, which was obtained by the Spa-

niards from Indians well acquainted with their own arts. The style of painting in all these is the same. They represent things, not words. They exhibit images to the eye, not ideas to the understanding. They may, therefore, be considered as the earliest and most imperfect essay of men in their progress towards discovering the art of writing. The defects in this mode of recording transactions must have been early felt. To paint every occurrence was, from its nature, a very tedious operation; and as affairs became more complicated, and events multiplied in any society, its annals must have swelled to an enormous bulk. Besides this, no objects could be delineated but those of sense; the conceptions of the mind had no corporeal form, and as long as picture-writing could not convey an idea of these, it must have been a very imperfect art. The necessity of improving it must have roused and sharpened invention, and the human mind holding the same course in the New World as in the Old, might have advanced by the same successive steps, first, from an actual picture to the plain hieroglyphick; next, to the allegorical symbol; then to the arbitrary character; until, at length, an alphabet of letters was discovered, capable of expressing all the various combinations of sound employed in speech. In the paintings of the Mexicans we, accordingly, perceive, that this

progress was begun among them. Upon an attentive inspection of the plates, which I have mentioned, we may observe some approach to the plain or simple hieroglyphick, where some principal part or circumstance in the subject is made to stand for the whole. In the annals of their kings, published by Purchas, the towns conquered by each are uniformly represented in the same manner by a rude delineation of a house; but in order to point out the particular towns which submitted to their victorious arms, peculiar emblems, sometimes natural objects, and sometimes artificial figures, are employed. In the tribute-roll, published by the archbishop of Toledo, the house, which was properly the picture of the town, is omitted, and the emblem alone is employed to represent it. The Mexicans seem even to have made some advances beyond this, towards the use of the more figurative and fanciful hieroglyphick. In order to describe a monarch, who had enlarged his dominions by force of arms, they painted a target ornamented with darts, and placed it between him and those towns which he subdued. But it is only in one instance, the notation of numbers, that we discern any attempt to exhibit ideas which had no corporeal form. The Mexican painters had invented artificial marks, or signs of convention, for this purpose. By means of these, they computed the years of their

kings reigns, as well as the amount of tribute to be paid into the royal treasury. The figure of a circle represented unit, and in small numbers ; the computation was made by repeating it. Larger numbers were expressed by a peculiar mark, and they had such as denoted all integral numbers, from twenty to eight thousand. The short duration of their empire prevented the Mexicans from advancing farther in that long course which conducts men from the labour of delineating real objects, to the simplicity and ease of alphabetick writing. Their records, notwithstanding some dawn of such ideas as might have led to a more perfect style, can be considered as nothing more than a species of picture-writing, so far improved as to mark their superiority over the savage tribes of America ; but still so defective, as to prove that they had not proceeded far beyond the first stage in that progress which must be completed before any people can be ranked among polished nations, d)

Their mode of computing time.

Their mode of computing time may be considered as a more decisive evidence of their progress in improvement. They divided their year into eighteen months, each consisting of

d) See NOTE XXVI.

twenty days, amounting in all to three hundred and sixty. But as they observed that the course of the sun was not completed in that time, they added five days to the year. These, which were properly intercalary days they termed supernumerary or waste; and as they did not belong to any month, no work was done, and no sacred rite performed on them; they were devoted wholly to festivity and pastime. e) This near approach to philosophical accuracy is a remarkable proof that the Mexicans had bestowed some attention upon inquiries and speculations, to which men in a very rude state never turn their thoughts.

Facts indicating a small progress in civilization.

Such are the most striking particulars in the manners and policy of the Mexicans, which exhibit them to view as a people considerably refined. From other circumstances, one is apt to suspect that their character, and many of their institutions, did not differ greatly from those of the other inhabitants of America.

Their wars continual and ferocious.

Like the rude tribes around them, the Mexicans were incessantly engaged in war and the motives which prompted them to hostility seem

e) Acosta, lib. vi. c. 2.

to have been the same. They fought, in order to gratify their vengeance, by shedding the blood of their enemies. In battle they were chiefly intent on taking prisoners, and it was by the number of these that they estimated the glory of victory. No captive was ever ransomed or spared. All were sacrificed without mercy, and their flesh devoured with the same barbarous joy as among the fiercest savages. On some occasions it rose to even wilder excesses. Their principal warriors covered themselves with the skins of the unhappy victims, and danced about the streets, boasting of their own valour, and exulting over their enemies. f) Even in their civil institutions we discover traces of that barbarous disposition which their system of war inspired. The four chief counsellors of the empire were distinguished by atrocious titles, which could have been assumed only by a people who delighted in blood. g) This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain. The Tlascalans, the people of Mechoacan, and other states at enmity with the Mexicans, delighted equally in war, and treated their prisoners with the same cruelty. In proportion as mankind combine in social union, and live under the influence of equal laws and

f) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. II. c. 15. Gom. Chron. 217.

g) See NOTE XXVII.

regular policy, their manners soften, sentiments of humanity arise, and the rights of the species come to be understood. The fierceness of war abates, and even while engaged in hostility, men remember what they owe one to another. The savage fights to destroy, the citizen to conquer. The former neither pities nor spares, the latter has acquired sensibility which tempers his rage. To this sensibility the Mexicans seem to have been perfect strangers, and among them war was carried on with so much of its original barbarity, that we cannot but suspect their degree of civilization to have been very imperfect.

Their funeral rites.

Their funeral rites were not less bloody than those of the most savage tribes. On the death of any distinguished personage, especially of the Emperor, a certain number of his attendants were chosen to accompany him to the other world, and those unfortunate victims were put to death without mercy, and buried in the same tomb. h)

Their agriculture imperfect.

Though their agriculture was more extensive than that of the roving tribes who trusted

h) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 18. Gom. Chron. c. 202.

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chiefly to their bow for food, it seems not to have supplied them with such subsistence as men require when engaged in efforts of active industry. The Spaniards appear not to have been struck with any superiority of the Mexicans over the other people of America in bodily vigour. Both, according to their observation, were of such a feeble frame as to be unable to endure fatigue, and the strength of one Spaniard exceeded that of several Indians. This they imputed to their scanty diet, on poor fare, sufficient to preserve life, but not to give firmness to the constitution. Such a remark could hardly have been made with respect to any people furnished plentifully with the necessaries of life. The difficulty which Cortes found in procuring subsistence for his small body of soldiers, who were often constrained to live on the spontaneous productions of the earth, seems to confirm the remark of the Spanish writers, and gives no high idea of the state of cultivation in the Mexican empire. i)

A farther proof of this.

A practice that was universal in New Spain appears to favour this opinion. The Mexican women gave suck to their children for several

i) Relat. ap. Ramus. ii. 306. A. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. 4. c. 17.
dec. 2. lib. v. c. 16.

years, and during that time they did not cohabit with their husbands. k) This precaution against a burdensome increase of progeny, though necessary, as I have already observed, among savages, who, from the hardships of their condition, and the precariousness of their subsistence, find it impossible to rear a numerous family, can hardly be supposed to have continued among a people who lived at ease and in abundance.

Doubts concerning the extent of the empire.

The vast extent of the Mexican empire, which has been considered, and with justice, as the most decisive proof of a considerable progress in regular government and police, is one of those facts in the history of the New World which seems to have been admitted without due examination or sufficient evidence. The Spanish historians, in order to magnify the valour of their countrymen, are accustomed to represent the dominion of Montezuma as stretching over all the provinces of New Spain from the North to the Southern Ocean. But a great part of the mountainous country was possessed by the Otomies, a fierce uncivilized people who seem to have been the residue of the original inhabitants. The provinces towards the north and west of Mexico were occupied by the Chichimecas, and other tribes of

k) Gom. Chron. c. 208. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 16.

hunters. None of those recognized the Mexican monarch as their superior. Even in the interior and more level country, there were several cities and provinces which had never submitted to the Mexican yoke. Tlascala, though only twenty-one leagues from the capital of the empire, was an independent and hostile republick. Cholula, though still nearer, had been subjected only a short time before the arrival of the Spaniards. Tepeaca, at the distance of thirty leagues from Mexico, seems to have been a separate state, governed by its own laws. l) Mechoacan, the frontier of which extended within forty leagues of Mexico, was a powerful kingdom, remarkable for its implacable enmity to the Mexican name. m) By these hostile powers the Mexican empire was circumscribed on every quarter, and the high ideas which we are apt to form of it from the description of the Spanish historians, should be considerably moderated.

Little intercourse among its several provinces.

In consequence of this independence of several states in New Spain upon the Mexican empire, there was not any considerable intercourse between its various provinces. Even

l) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. x. c. 15. 21. B. Diaz, c. 130.

m) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 10.

in the interior country, not far distant from the capital, there seem to have been no roads to facilitate the communication of one district with another; and when the Spaniards first attempted to penetrate into it, they had to open their way through forests and marshes. n) Cortes, in his adventurous march from Mexico to Honduras in 1525, met with obstructions, and endured hardships, little inferior to those with which he must have struggled in the most uncivilized regions of America. In some places, he could hardly force a passage through impervious woods, and plains overflowed with water. In others he found so little cultivation, that his troops were frequently in danger of perishing by famine. Such facts correspond ill with the pompous description which the Spanish writers give of Mexican police and industry, and convey an idea of a country nearly similar to that possessed by the Indian tribes in North America. Here and there a trading or a war path, as they are called in North America, led from one settlement to another, o) but generally there appeared no sign of any established communication, few marks of industry, and no monument of art.

Farther proof of this.

A proof of this imperfection in their commercial intercourse no less striking, is their want

n) B. Diaz, c. 166. 176.

o) Herrera, dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 8.

want of money, or some universal standard by which to estimate the value of commodities. The discovery of this is among the steps of greatest consequence in the progress of nations. Until it has been made, all their transactions must be so awkward, so operose, and so limited, what we may boldly pronounce that they have advanced but a little way in their career. The invention of such a commercial standard is of such high antiquity in our hemisphere, and rises so far beyond the æra of authentick history, as to appear almost coeval with the existence of society. The precious metals seem to have been early employed for this purpose, and from their permanent value, their divisibility, and many other qualities, they are better adapted to serve as a common standard than any other substance of which nature has given us the command. But in the New World, where these metals abound most, this use of them was not known. The exigencies of rude tribes, or of monarchies imperfectly civilized, did not call for it. All their commercial intercourse was carried on by barter, and their ignorance of any common standard by which to facilitate that exchange of commodities which contributes so much towards the comfort of life, may be justly mentioned as an evidence of the infant state of their policy. But even in the New World the inconvenience of wanting some general instrument of commerce began to be felt, and some efforts were made

towards supplying that defect. The Mexicans, among whom the number and greatness of their cities gave rise to a more extended commerce than in any part of America, had begun to employ a common standard of value, which rendered smaller transactions much more easy. As chocolate was the favourite drink of persons in every rank of life, the nuts or almonds of cacao, of which it is composed, were of such universal consumption, that, in their stated markets, these were willingly received in return for commodities of small price. Thus they came to be considered as the instrument of commerce, and the value of what one wished to dispose of, was estimated by the number of nuts of the cacao, which he might expect in exchange for it. This seems to be the utmost length which the Americans had advanced towards the discovery of any expedient for supplying the use of money. And if the want of it is to be held, on one hand, as a proof of their barbarity, this expedient for supplying that want, should be admitted on the other, as an evidence no less satisfying, of some progress which the Mexicans had made in refinement and civilization, beyond the savage tribes around them.

Doubts concerning the state of their cities.

In such a rude state were many of the Mexican provinces when first visited by their con-

querors. Even their cities, extensive and populous as they were, seem more fit to be the habitation of men just emerging from barbarity, than the residence of a polished people. The description of Tlascala nearly resembles that of an Indian village. A number of low straggling huts, scattered about irregularly, according to the caprice of each proprietor, built with turf and stone, and thatched with reeds, without any light but what they received by a door, so low that it could not be entered upright. p) In Mexico, though, from the peculiarity of its situation, the disposition of the houses was more orderly, the structure of the greater part was equally mean.

Temples,

Nor does the fabrick of their temples, and other publick edifices, appear to have been such as entitled them to the high praises bestowed upon them by many Spanish authors. As far as one can gather from their obscure and inaccurate descriptions, the great temple of Mexico, the most famous in New Spain, which has been represented as a magnificent building, raised to such a height, that the ascent to it was by a stair-case of a hundred and fourteen steps, was a solid mass of earth of a square form, faced partly with stone. Its base on each side extend-

N 2

p) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vi. c. 12.

ed ninety feet, and decreasing gradually as it advanced in height, it terminated in a quadrangle of about thirty feet, where were placed a shrine of the deity and two altars on which the victims were sacrificed. q) All the other celebrated temples of New Spain exactly resembled that of Mexico. r) Such structures convey no high idea of progress in art and ingenuity; and one can hardly conceive that a form more rude and simple could have occurred to a nation in its first efforts towards erecting any great work.

and other public buildings.

Greater skill and ingenuity were displayed, if we may believe the Spanish historians in the houses of the emperor and in those of the principal nobility. There, some elegance of design was visible, and a commodious arrangement of the apartments was attended to. But if buildings corresponding to such descriptions had ever existed in the Mexican cities, it is probable that some remains of them would still be visible. From the manner in which Cortes conducted the siege of Mexico, we can indeed easily account for the total destruction of whatever had any appearance of splendor in that capital. But as only two centuries and a half have elapsed since the con-

q) Herrera, dec. 2. lib. vii.

r) See NOTE XXVIII.

quest of New Spain, it seems altogether incredible that in a period so short, every vestige of this boasted elegance and grandeur should have disappeared; and that in the other cities, particularly in those which did not suffer by the destructive hand of the conquerors, there are any ruins, which can be considered as monuments of their ancient magnificence.

Even in a village of the rudest Indians there are buildings of greater extent and elevation than common dwelling-houses. Such as are destined for holding the council of the tribe, and in which all assemble on occasions of public festivity, may be called stately edifices, when compared with the rest. As among the Mexicans the distinction of ranks was established, and property was unequally divided, the number of distinguished structures in their towns would of course be greater than in other parts of America. But these seem not to have been either so solid or magnificent as to merit the pompous epithets which some Spanish authors employ in describing them. It is probable that, though more ornamented, and built on a larger scale, they were erected with the same flight materials which the Indians employed in their common buildings, s) and Time, in a space much less than two hundred and fifty years, may have swept away all remains of them. t)

s) See NOTE XXIX.

t) See NOTE XXX.

From this enumeration of facts, it seems; upon the whole, to be evident, that the state of society in Mexico was considerably advanced beyond that of the savage tribes which we have delineated. But it is no less manifest, that with respect to many particulars, the Spanish accounts of their progress appear to be highly embellished. There is not a more frequent or a more fertile source of deception in describing the manners and arts of savage nations, or of such as are imperfectly civilized, than that of applying to them the names and phrases appropriated to the institutions and refinements of polished life. When the leader of a small tribe, or the head of a rude community, is dignified with the name of king or emperor, the place of his residence can receive no other name but that of his palace; and whatever his attendants may be, they must be called his court. Under such appellations they acquire an importance and dignity which does not belong to them. The illusion spreads, and giving a false colour to every part of the narrative, the imagination is so much carried away with the resemblance, that it becomes difficult to discern objects as they really are. The Spaniards, when they first touched on the Mexican coast, were so much struck with the appearance of attainments in policy and in the arts of life, far superior to those of the rude tribes with which they were hitherto acquaint-

ed, that they fancied they had at length discovered a civilized people in the New World. This comparison between the people of Mexico and their uncultivated neighbours, they appear to have kept constantly in view, and observing with admiration many things which marked the pre-eminence of the former, they employ in describing their imperfect policy and infant arts, such terms as are applicable to the institutions of men far beyond them in improvement. Both these circumstances concur in detracting from the credit due to the descriptions of Mexican manners by the early Spanish writers. By drawing a parallel between them and those of people so much less civilized, they raised their own ideas too high. By their mode of describing them, they conveyed ideas to others no less exalted above truth. Later writers have adopted the style of the original historians, and improved upon it. The colours with which De Solis delineates the character of Montezuma, the splendour of his court, the laws and policy of his empire, are the same that he must have employed in exhibiting to view the monarch and institutions of an highly polished people.

But though we may admit, that the warm imagination of the Spanish writers has added some embellishment to their descriptions, this will not justify the decisive and peremptory tone, with which several authors pronounce all their accounts of the Mexican power, policy

and laws, to be the fictions of men who wished to deceive, or who delighted in the marvellous. There are few historical facts that can be ascertained by evidence more unexceptionable, than may be produced in support of the material articles, in the description to the Mexican constitution and manners. Eye-witnesses relate what they had beheld, men who had resided among the Mexicans, both before and after the conquest, describe institutions and customs which were familiar to them, persons of such different professions that objects must have presented themselves to their view under every various aspect; soldiers, priests, and lawyers, all concur in their testimony. Had Cortes ventured to impose upon his sovereign, by exhibiting to him a picture of imaginary manners, there wanted not enemies and rivals who were qualified to detect his deceit, and who would have rejoiced in exposing it. But according to the just remark of an author, whose ingenuity has illustrated, and whose eloquence has adorned, the history of America, u) this supposition is in itself as improbable, as the attempt would have been audacious. Who among the destroyers of this great empire was so enlightened by science, or so attentive to the progress and operations of men in social life, as to frame a fictitious

u) M. l'Abbé Raynal Hist. philos. & polit. iii. 127.



system of policy so well combined and so consistent, as that which they delineate, in their accounts of the Mexican government? Where could they have borrowed the idea of many institutions in legislation and police, to which, at that period, there was nothing parallel in the nations with which they were acquainted? There was not, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, a regular establishment of posts for conveying intelligence to the sovereign of any kingdom in Europe. The same observation will apply to what the Spaniards relate, with respect to the structure of the city of Mexico, the regulations concerning its police, and various laws established for the administration of justice, or securing the happiness of the community. Whoever is accustomed to contemplate the progress of nations, will often, at very early stages of it, discover a premature and unexpected dawn of those ideas, which give rise to institutions that are the pride and ornament of its most advanced period. Even in a state as imperfectly polished as the Mexican empire, the happy genius of some sagacious observer, excited or aided by circumstances unknown to us, may have introduced institutions which are seldom found but in societies highly refined. But it is almost impossible that the illiterate conquerors of the New World should have formed in any one instance a conception of customs and laws, beyond the

standard of improvement in their own age and country. Or if Cortes and his followers had been capable of this, what inducement had those by whom they were superseded to continue the deception? Why should Corita, or Motolinea, or Acofta, have amused their sovereign or their fellow-citizens with a tale purely fabulous?

Religion of the Mexicans.

In one particular, however, the guides whom we must follow have represented the Mexicans to be more barbarous, perhaps, than they really were. Their religious tenets, and the rites of their worship, are described by them as wild and cruel in an extreme degree. Religion, which occupies no considerable place in the thoughts of a savage, whose conceptions of any superior power are obscure, and his sacred rites few as well as simple, was formed, among the Mexicans, into a regular system, with its complete train of priests, temples, victims, and festivals. This, of itself, is a clear proof that the state of the Mexicans was very different from that of the ruder American tribes. But from the extravagance of their religious notions, or the barbarity of their rites, no conclusion can be drawn with certainty concerning the degree of their civilization. For nations, long after their ideas begin to enlarge, and their manners

to refine, adhere to systems of superstition founded on the crude conceptions of early ages. From the genius of the Mexican religion we may, however, form a most just conclusion with respect to its influence upon the character of the people. The aspect of superstition in Mexico was gloomy and atrocious. Its divinities were clothed with terror, and delighted in vengeance. They were exhibited to the people under detestable forms, which created horror. The figures of serpents, of tygers, and of other destructive animals, decorated their temples. Fear was the only principle that inspired their votaries. Fasts, mortifications, and penances, all rigid, and many of them excruciating to an extreme degree, were the means employed to appease the wrath of their gods, and the Mexicans never approached their altars without sprinkling them with blood drawn from their own bodies. But, of all offerings, human sacrifices were deemed the most acceptable. This religious belief, mingling with the implacable spirit of vengeance, and adding new force to it, every captive taken in war was brought to the temple, was devoted as a victim to the deity, and sacrificed with rites no less solemn than cruel. x) The heart and head were the portion consecrated to the gods;

x) Cort. Relat. sp. Ramus. iii. 240, &c. B. Diaz. c. 82. Acoſta. lib. v. c. 13. &c. Herrera, dec. 3. lib. ii. c. 15. &c. Gomara Chron. c. 80, &c. See NOTE XXXI.

the warrior, by whose prowess the prisoner had been seized, carried off the body to feast upon it with his friends. Under the impression of ideas so dreary and terrible, and accustomed daily to scenes of bloodshed rendered awful by religion, the heart of man must harden, and be steeled to every sentiment of humanity. The spirit of the Mexicans was accordingly unfeeling, and the genius of their religion so far counterbalanced the influence of policy and arts, that, notwithstanding their progress in both, - their manners, instead of softening became more fierce. To what circumstances it was owing that superstition assumed such a dreadful form among the Mexicans, we have not sufficient knowledge of their history to determine. But its influence is visible, and produced an effect that is singular in the history of the human species. The manners of the people in the New World who had made the greatest progress in the arts of policy, were the most ferocious, and the barbarity of some of their customs exceeded even those of the savage state.

Pretensions of Peru to an high antiquity uncertain.

The empire of Peru boasts of an higher antiquity than that of Mexico. According to the traditionary accounts collected by the Spaniards, it had subsisted four hundred years, under twelve successive monarchs. But the knowledge of

their ancient story, which the Peruvians could communicate to their conquerors, must have been both imperfect and uncertain. 2) Like the other American nations, they were totally unacquainted with the art of writing, and destitute of the only means by which the memory of past transactions can be preserved with any degree of accuracy. Even among people to whom the use of letters is known, the æra where the authenticity of history commences, is much posterior to the introduction of writing. That noble invention continues long subservient to the common business and wants of life before it was employed in recording events, with a view of conveying information from one age to another. But in no country did ever tradition alone carry down historick knowledge, in any full continued stream, during a period of half the length that the monarchy of Peru is said to have subsisted.

Defects in their records by Quipos.

The Quipos, or knots on cords of different colours, which are celebrated by authors fond of the marvellous, as if they had been regular annals of the empire, imperfectly supplied the place of writing. According to the obscure description of them by Acosta, a) which Garci-

2) See, NOTE XXXII.

a) Hist. lib. vi. c. 8.

Iaffo de la Vega has adopted with little variation and no improvement, the Quipos seem to have been a device for rendering calculation more expeditious and accurate. By the various colours different objects were denoted, and by each knot a distinct number. Thus an account was taken, and a kind of register kept, of the inhabitants in each province, or of the several productions collected there for publick use. But as by these knots, however varied or combined, no moral or abstract idea, no operation or quality of the mind could be represented, they contributed little towards preserving the memory of ancient events and institutions. The Mexican paintings and symbols, rude as they were, conveyed more knowledge of remote transactions, than the Peruvians could derive from their boasted quipos. Had the latter been even of more extensive use, and better adapted to supply the place of written records, they perished so generally, together with other monuments of Peruvian ingenuity, in the wreck occasioned by the Spanish conquest, and the civil wars subsequent to it, that no accession of light or knowledge comes from them. All the zeal of Garcilaffo de la Vega, for the honour of that race of monarchs from whom he descended, all the industry of his researches, and the superior advantages with which he carried them on, opened no source of information unknown to the Spanish authors who wrote before him. In his

Royal Commentaries, he confines himself to illustrate what they had related concerning the antiquities and institutions of Peru; b) and his illustrations, like their accounts, are derived entirely from the traditionary tales current among his countrymen.

Very little credit then is due to the minute details which have been given of the exploits, the battles, the conquests, and private character of the early Peruvian monarchs. We can rest upon nothing in their story, as authentick, but a few facts, so interwoven in the system of their religion and policy, as preserved the memory of them from being lost; and upon the description of such customs and institutions as continued in force at the time of the conquest, and fell under the immediate observation of the Spaniards. By attending carefully to these, and endeavouring to separate them from what appears to be fabulous, or of doubtful authority, I have laboured to form an idea of the Peruvian government and manners.

Origin of their civil policy.

The people of Peru, as I have already observed, c) had not advanced beyond the rudest form of savage life, when Manco Capac, and his consort Mama ocollo, appeared to instruct and civilize them. Who these extraor-

b) Lib. i. c. 10.

c) Book vi.

dinary personages were, whether they imported their system of legislation and knowledge of arts from some country more improved, or, if natives of Peru, how they acquired ideas so far superior to those of the people whom they addressed, are circumstances with respect to which the Peruvian tradition conveys no information. Manco Capac and his consort, taking advantage of the propensity in the Peruvians to superstition, and particularly of their veneration for the Sun, pretended to be children of that glorious luminary, and to deliver their instructions in his name and authority. The multitude listened and believed. What reformation in policy and manners the Peruvians ascribe to those founders of their empire, and how, from the precepts of the Inca and his consort, their ancestors gradually acquired some knowledge of those arts, and some relish for that industry which render subsistence secure and life comfortable, hath been formerly related. Those blessings were originally confined within narrow precincts; for the authority of the first Inca did not reach many leagues beyond Cuzco. But, in process of time, his successors extended their dominion over all the regions that stretch to the west of the Andes from Chili to Quito, establishing in every province their peculiar policy and religious institutions.

Founded

Founded in religion.

The most singular and striking circumstance in Peruvian government, is the influence of religion upon its genius and laws. Religious ideas make such a feeble impression on the mind of a savage, that their effect upon his sentiments and manners is hardly perceptible. Among the Mexicans, religion, reduced into a regular system, and holding a considerable place in their public institutions, operated with conspicuous efficacy in forming the peculiar character of that people. But in Peru, the whole system of civil policy was founded on religion. The Inca appeared not only as a legislator, but as the messenger of Heaven. His precepts were received not merely as the injunctions of a superior, but as the mandates of the Deity. His race was held to be sacred; and in order to preserve it distinct, without being polluted by any mixture of less noble blood, the sons of Manco Capac married their own sisters, and no person was ever admitted to the throne who could not claim it by such a pure descent. To those Children of the Sun, for that was the appellation bestowed upon all the offspring of the first Inca, the people looked up with the reverence due to beings of a superior order. They were deemed to be under the immediate protection of the deity from whom they issued, and by him every order of the reigning Inca was supposed to be dictated.

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Two remarkable effects of this. The absolute power of the Inca.

From those ideas two consequences resulted. The authority of the Inca was unlimited and absolute, in the most extensive meaning of the words. Whenever the decrees of a prince are considered as the commands of the Divinity, it is not only an act of rebellion, but of impiety, to dispute or oppose his will. Obedience becomes a duty of religion; and as it would be profane to controul a monarch under the guidance of Heaven, and presumptuous to advise him, nothing remains but to submit with implicit respect. This must necessarily be the effect of every government established on pretensions of intercourse with superior powers. Such accordingly was the blind submission which the Peruvians yielded to their sovereigns. The persons of highest rank and greatest power in their dominions acknowledged them to be of a more exalted nature; and in testimony of this, when admitted into their presence, they entered with a burden upon their shoulders, as an emblem of their servitude, and willingness to hear whatever the Inca was pleased to impose. Among their subjects, force was not requisite to second their commands. Every officer entrusted with the execution of them was revered, and, according to the account of an intelligent observer of Peruvian man-

ners, d) might proceed alone from one extremity of the empire to another, without meeting opposition; for, on producing a fringe from the royal Borla, or ornament peculiar to the reigning Inca, the lives and fortunes of the people were at his disposal.

All crimes punished capitally.

Another consequence of establishing government in Peru on the foundation of religion was, that all crimes were punished capitally. They were not considered as transgressions of human laws, but as insults offered to the Deity. Each, without any distinction between such as were slight and such as were atrocious, called for vengeance, and could be expiated only by the blood of the offender. Consonantly to the same ideas, punishment followed the trespass with inevitable certainty, because an offence against Heaven was deemed such an high enormity as could not be pardoned. e) Among a people of corrupted morals, maxims of jurisprudence so severe and unrelenting, by rendering men ferocious and desperate, would be more apt to multiply crimes than to restrain them. But the Peruvians, of simple manners and unsuspicious faith, were held in such awe by this rigid discipline, that the number of offenders was extremely small. Veneration for

d) Zarate, lib. i. c. 13.

e) Vega, lib. ii. c. 6.

monarchs, enlightened and directed, as they believed, by the divinity whom they adored, prompted them to their duty; the dread of punishment, which they were taught to consider as unavoidable vengeance inflicted by offended Heaven, withheld them from evil.

Mild genius of their religion.

The system of superstition on which the Incas ingrafted their pretensions to such high authority, was of a genius very different from that established among the Mexicans. Manco Capac turned the veneration of his followers entirely towards natural objects. The Sun, as the great source of light, of joy, and fertility in the creation, attracted their principal homage. The Moon and Stars, as coöperating with him, were entitled to secondary honours. Wherever the propensity in the human mind to acknowledge and to adore some superior power, takes this direction, and is employed in contemplating the order and beneficence that really exist in nature, the spirit of superstition is mild. Wherever imaginary beings, created by the fancy and the fears of men, are supposed to preside in nature, and become the objects of worship, superstition always assumes a more severe and atrocious form. Of the latter we have an example among the Mexicans, of the former among the people of Peru. The Peruvians had not, indeed, made such progress

in observation or inquiry, as to have attained just conceptions of the Deity; nor was there in their language any proper name or appellation of the Supreme Power, which intimated, that they had formed any idea of him as the Creator and Governor of the World. f) But by directing their veneration to that glorious luminary, which, by its universal and vivifying energy, is the best emblem of divine beneficence, the rites and observances which they deemed acceptable to him were innocent and humane. They offered to the Sun a part of those productions which his genial warmth had called forth from the bosom of the earth, and reared to maturity. They sacrificed, as an oblation of gratitude, some of the animals who were indebted to his influence for nourishment. They presented to him choice specimens of those works of ingenuity which his light had guided the hand of man in forming. But the Incas never stained his altars with human blood, nor could they conceive that their beneficent father the Sun would be delighted with such horrid victims. g) Thus the Peruvians unacquainted with those barbarous rites which extinguish sensibility, and suppress the feeling of nature at the sight of human sufferings, were formed, by the spirit of the superstition which they had adopted, to a national character, more gentle than that of any people in America.

f) Acosta, lib. v. c. 3.

g) See NOTE XXXIII.

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Its influence on civil policy.

The influence of this superstition operated even upon their civil institutions, and tended to correct in them whatever was adverse to gentleness of character. The dominion of the Incas, though the most absolute of all despotisms, was mitigated by its alliance with religion. The mind was not humbled and depressed by the idea of forced subjection to the will of a superior; obedience, paid to one who was believed to be clothed with divine authority, was willingly yielded, and implied no degradation. The sovereign, conscious that the submissive reverence of his people flowed from their belief of his heavenly descent, was continually reminded of a distinction which prompted him to imitate that beneficent power which he was supposed to represent. In consequence of those impressions, there hardly occurs in the traditional history of Peru, any instance of rebellion against the reigning prince, and, among twelve successive monarchs, there was not one tyrant.

and on their military system.

Even the wars in which the Incas engaged, were carried on with a spirit very different from that of other American nations. They fought not, like savages, to destroy and exterminate; or, like the Mexicans, to glut blood-thirsty

divinities with human sacrifices. They conquered, in order to reclaim and civilize the vanquished, and to diffuse the knowledge of their own institutions and arts. Prisoners seem not to have been exposed to the insults and tortures, which were their lot in every other part of the New World. The Incas took the people whom they subdued under their protection, and admitted them to a participation of all the advantages enjoyed by their original subjects. This practice, so repugnant to American ferocity, and resembling the humanity of the most polished nations, must be ascribed, like other peculiarities which we have observed in the Peruvian manners, to the genius of their religion. The Incas, considering the homage paid to any object but the heavenly powers which they adored as impious, were fond of gaining proselytes to their favourite system. The idols of every conquered province were carried in triumph to the great temple at Cuzco, h) and placed there as trophies of the superior power of the divinity who was the protector of the empire. The people were treated with lenity, and instructed in the religious tenets of their new masters, i) that the conqueror might have the glory of having added to the number of the votaries of his father the Sun.

h) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 12.

i) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 8.

Peculiar state of property.

The state of property in Peru was no less singular than that of religion, and contributed likewise, towards giving a mild turn of character to the people. All the lands capable of cultivation were divided into three shares. One was consecrated to the Sun, and the product of it was applied to the erection of temples, and furnishing what was requisite towards celebrating the publick rites of religion. The second belonged to the Inca, and was set apart as the provision made by the community for the support of government. The third and largest share was reserved for the maintenance of the people, among whom it was parcelled out. No person, however, had a right of exclusive property in the portion allotted to him. He possessed it only for a year, at the expiration of which a new division was made, in proportion to the rank, the number, and exigencies of each family. All those lands were cultivated by the joint industry of the community. The people, summoned by a proper officer, repaired in a body to the fields, and performed their common task, while songs and musical instruments cheered them to their labour. k)

Effects of this.

By this singular distribution of territory, as well as by the mode of cultivating it, the idea

k) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 2. Vega, lib. v. c. 5.

of a common interest, and of mutual subserviency, was continually inculcated. Each individual felt his connection with those around him, and knew that he depended on their friendly aid for what increase he was to reap. A state thus constituted may be considered as one great family, in which the union of the members was so complete, and the exchange of good offices so perceptible, as create stronger attachment, and to bind man to man in closer intercourse, than subsisted under any form of society established in America. From this resulted gentle manners, and mild virtues unknown in the savage state, and with which the Mexicans were little acquainted.

Inequality of ranks.

But, though the institutions of the Incas were so framed as to strengthen the bonds of affection among their subjects, there was great inequality in their condition. The distinction of ranks was fully established in Peru. A great body of the inhabitants, under the denomination of Yanacunas, were held in a state of servitude. Their garb and houses were of a form different from those of freemen. Like the Tamemes of Mexico, they were employed in carrying burdens, and in performing every other work of drudgery. 1) Next to them in rank, were such of the people as were free, but dif-

1) Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iii. c. 4. lib. x. c. 8.

tinguished by no official or hereditary honours. Above them were raised, those whom the Spaniards call Orejones, from the ornaments worn in their ears. They formed what may be denominated the order of nobles, and in peace as well as war held every office of power or trust. m) At the head of all were the children of the Sun, who, by their high descent, and peculiar privileges, were as much exalted above the Orejones, as these were elevated beyond the people.

State of arts.

Such a form of society, from the union of its members, as well as from the distinction in their ranks, was favourable to progress in the arts. But the Spaniards having been acquainted with the improved state of various arts in Mexico, several years before they discovered Peru, were not so much struck with what they observed in the latter country, and describe the appearances of ingenuity there with less warmth of admiration. The Peruvians, nevertheless, had advanced far beyond the Mexicans, both in the necessary arts of life, and in such as have some title to the name of elegant.

Improved state of agriculture.

In Peru, agriculture, the art of primary necessity in social life was more extensive, and

m) Herrera, dec. 5. lib iv. c. I.

carried on with greater skill than in any part of America. The Spaniards, in their progress through the country, were so fully supplied with provisions of every kind, that in the relation of their adventures we meet with few of those dismal scenes of distress occasioned by famine, in which the conquerors of Mexico were so often involved. The quantity of soil under cultivation was not left to the discretion of individuals, but regulated by publick authority in proportion to the exigencies of the community. Even the calamity of an unfruitful season was but little felt, for the product of the lands consecrated to the Sun, as well as those set apart for the Incas, being deposited in the Tambos, or publick storehouses, it remained there as a stated provision for times of scarcity. n) As the extent of cultivation was determined with such provident attention to the demands of the state, the invention and industry of the Peruvians were called forth to extraordinary exertions, by certain defects peculiar to their climate and soil. All the vast rivers that flow from the Andes take their course eastward to the Atlantick Ocean. Peru is watered only by some streams which rush down from the mountains like torrents. A great part of the low country is sandy and barren, and never refreshed with rain. In order to render such an unpromising region fertile, the ingenuity of the Peruvians had re-

n) Zarate, lib. i. c. 14. Vega, lib. i. c. 8.

course to various expedients. By means of artificial canals conducted, with much patience and considerable art, from the torrents that poured across their country, they conveyed a regular supply of moisture to their fields. o) They enriched the soil by manuring it with the dung of sea-fowls, of which they found an inexhaustible store on all the islands scattered along their coasts. p) In describing the customs of any nation thoroughly civilized, such practices would hardly draw attention, or be mentioned as in any degree remarkable; but in the history of the improvident race of men in the New World, they are entitled to notice as singular proofs of industry and of art. The use of the plough, indeed, was unknown to the Peruvians. They turned up the earth with a kind of mattock of hard wood. q) Nor was this labour deemed so degrading as to be devolved wholly upon the women. Both sexes joined in performing this necessary work. Even the children of the Sun set an example of industry, by cultivating a field near Cuzco with their own hands, and they dignified this function, by denominating it their triumph over the earth. r)

o) Zarate, lib. i. c. 4. Vega, lib. v. c. 1. & 24.

p) Acosta, lib. iv. c. 37. Vega, lib. v. c. 3. See NOTE XXXIV.

q) Zarate, lib. i. c. 8.

r) Vega, lib. v. c. 2.

Their buildings.

The superior ingenuity of the Peruvians is obvious, likewise, in the construction of their houses and publick buildings. In the extensive plains which stretch along the Pacifick Ocean, where the sky is perpetually serene, and the climate mild, their houses were very properly of a fabrick extremely slight. But in the higher regions, where rain falls, where the vicissitude of seasons is known, and their rigour felt, houses were constructed with greater solidity. They were generally of a square form, the walls about eight feet high, built with bricks hardened in the sun, the door low and without any windows. Simple as these structures were, and rude as the materials may seem to be, of which they were formed, they were so durable, that many of them still subsist in different parts of Peru, long after every monument that might have conveyed to us any idea of the domestick state of the other American nations has vanished from the face of the earth. But it was in the temples consecrated to the Sun, and in the buildings destined for the residence of their monarchs, that the Peruvians displayed the utmost extent of their art and contrivance. The descriptions of them by such of the Spanish writers as had an opportunity of contemplating them, while, in some measure, entire, might have appeared highly exag-

gerated, if the ruins which still remain, did not vouch the truth of their relations. These ruins of sacred or royal buildings are found in every province of the empire, and by their frequency demonstrate that they are monuments of a powerful people, who must have subsisted, during a period of some extent, in a state of no inconsiderable improvement. They appear to have been edifices various in their dimensions. Some of a moderate size, many of immense extent, all remarkable for solidity, and resembling each other in the style of architecture. The temple of Pachacamac, together with a palace of the Inca, and a fortress, were so connected together as to form one great structure, above half a league in circuit. In this prodigious pile, the same singular taste in building is conspicuous, as in other works of the Peruvians. As they were unacquainted with the use of the pulley, and other mechanical powers, and could not elevate the large stones and bricks which they employed in building to any considerable height, the walls of this edifice, in which they seem to have made their greatest effort towards magnificence, did not rise above twelve feet from the ground. Though they had not discovered the use of mortar or of any other cement in building, the bricks or stones were joined with so much nicety, that the seams can hardly be discern-

ed. s) The apartments, as far as the distribution of them can be traced in the ruins, were ill-disposed, and afforded little accommodation. There was not a single window in any part of the building; and as no light could enter but by the door, all the apartments of largest dimension must either have been perfectly dark, or illuminated by some other means. But with all these, and many other imperfections that might be mentioned in their art of building, the works of the Peruvians which still remain, must be considered as stupendous efforts of a people unacquainted with the use of iron, and convey to us an high idea of the power possessed by their ancient monarchs.

Their publick roads,

These, however, were not the noblest or most useful works of the Incas. The two great roads from Cuzco to Quito, extending in an uninterrupted stretch above five hundred leagues, are entitled to still higher praise. The one was conducted through the interior and mountainous country, the other through the plains on the sea-coast. From the language of admiration in which some of the early writers express their astonishment when they first

s) See NOTE XXXV.

viewed those roads, and from the more pompous descriptions of later writers, who labour to support some favourite theory concerning America, one might be led to compare this work of the Incas to the famous military ways which remain as monuments of the Roman power: but in a country where there was no tame animal except the Llama, which was never used for draught, and but little as a beast of burden, where the high roads were seldom trod by any but a human foot, no great degree of labour or art was requisite in forming them. The Peruvian roads were only fifteen feet in breadth, t) and in many places so slightly formed, that time has effaced every vestige of the course in which they ran. In the low country little more seems to have been done, than to plant trees or to fix posts at certain intervals, in order to mark the proper route to travellers. To open a path through the mountainous country was a more arduous task. Eminences were levelled, and hollows filled up, and for the preservation of the road it was fenced with a bank of turf. At proper distances, Tambos, or storehouses, were erected for the accommodation of the Inca and his attendants, in their progress through his dominions. From the manner in which the road was originally formed in this higher and more imper-

t) Cieca, c. 60.

impervious region, it has proved more durable; and though, from the inattention of the Spaniards to every object but that of working their mines, nothing has been done towards keeping it in repair, its course may still be traced. u) Such was the celebrated road of the Incas; and even from this description, divested of every circumstance of manifest exaggeration, or of suspicious aspect, it must be considered as a striking proof of an extraordinary progress in improvement and policy. To the savage tribes of America, the ideas of facilitating communication with places at a distance had never occurred. To the Mexicans it was hardly known. Even in the most civilized countries of Europe, men had advanced far in refinement, before it became a regular object of national policy to form such roads as render intercourse commodious,

and bridges.

The formation of those roads introduced another improvement in Peru equally unknown over all the rest of America. In its course from south to north, the road of the Incas was intersected by all the torrents which roll from the Andes towards the Western Ocean. From the rapidity of their course, as well as from the frequency and violence of their inundation,

u) Xerez, p. 139. 191. Zarate, lib. i. c. 13, 14. Vega, lib. ix. c. 13. Bogner Voyage, p. 105. Ulloa Ent. e. tenimientos, p. 365.

these were unnavigable. Some expedient, however, was to be found for passing them. The Peruvians, from their unacquaintance with the use of arches, and their inability to work in wood, could not construct bridges either of stone or timber. But necessity, the parent of invention, suggested a device which supplied that defect. They formed cables of great strength, by twisting together some of the pliable withs or osiers, with which their country abounds; six of which they stretched across the stream parallel to one another, and made them fast on each side. These they bound firmly together by interweaving smaller ropes so close, as to form a compact piece of net work, which being covered with branches of trees and earth, they passed along it with tolerable security. x) Proper persons were appointed to attend at each bridge, to keep it in repair, and to assist passengers. y) In the level country, where the rivers became deep and broad and still, they are passed in Balzas, or floats; in the construction, as well as navigation of which the ingenuity of the Peruvians appears to be far superior to that of any people in America. These had advanced no farther in naval skill than the use of the paddle, or oar; the Peruvians ventured to raise a mast, and spread a sail, by means of which

x) See NOTE XXXVI.

y) Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 376, B. Zarate, lib. f. c. 14. Vega, lib. iii. c. 7, 8. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 3, 4.

their balzas not only went nimbly before the wind, but could veer and tack with great celerity. 2)

Mode of refining silver ore.

Nor were the ingenuity and art of the Peruvians confined solely to objects of essential utility. They had made some progress in arts, which may be called elegant. They possessed the precious metals in greater abundance than any people of America. They obtained gold in the same manner with the Mexicans, by searching in the channels of rivers, or washing the earth in which particles of it were contained. But in order to procure silver, they exerted no inconsiderable degree of skill and invention. They had not, indeed, attained the art of sinking a shaft into the bowels of the earth, and penetrating to the riches concealed there; but they hollowed deep caverns on the banks of rivers and the sides of mountains, and emptied such veins as did not dip suddenly beyond their reach. In other places, where the vein lay near the surface, they dug pits to such a depth, that the person who worked below could throw out the ore, or hand it up in baskets. a) They had discovered the art of smelting and refining this, either by the simple application of fire, or where the ore

2) Ulloa Voy. i. 167. &c.

a) Ramusio, iii. 414, A.

was more stubborn, and impregnated with foreign substances, by placing it in small ovens or furnaces on high grounds, so artificially constructed that the draught of air performed the function of a bellows, an engine with which they were totally unacquainted. By this simple device, the purer ores were smelted with facility, and the quantity of silver in Peru was so considerable, that many of the utensils employed in the functions of common life were made of it. b) Several of those vessels and trinkets are said to have merited no small degree of estimation, on account of the neatness of the workmanship, as well as the intrinsic value of the materials. But as the conquerors of America were well acquainted with the latter, but had scarcely any conception of the former, most of them were melted down, and rated according to their weight and fineness in the division of the spoil.

Works of elegance. ●

In other works of mere curiosity or ornament, their ingenuity has been highly celebrated. Many specimens of those have been dug out of the Guacas, or mounds of earth, with which the Peruvians covered the bodies of the dead. Among these are mirrors of various

b) Acosta, lib. iv. c. 4, 5. Vega, p. I. lib. viii. c. 25. Ulloa Entretien. 258.

dimensions, of hard shining stones highly polished; vessels of earthen ware of different forms; hatchets and other instruments, some destined for war, and others for labour. Some were of flint, some of copper, hardened to such a degree by an unknown process, as to supply the place of iron on several occasions. Had the use of those tools formed of copper been general, the progress of the Peruvians in the arts might have been such, as to emulate that of more cultivated nations. But either the metal was so rare, or the operation by which it was hardened, so tedious, that their instruments of copper were few, and so extremely small, that they seem to have been employed only in lighter works. But even to such a circumscribed use of this imperfect metal, the Peruvians were indebted for their superiority to the other people of America in various arts. c) The same observation, however, may be applied to them, which I formerly made with respect to the arts of the Mexicans. From several specimens of Peruvian utensils and ornaments, which are deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid, and from some preserved in different collections in other parts of Europe, I have reason to believe that the workmanship is more to be admired on account of the rude tools with which it was executed, than on

c) Ulloa Voy. tom. i. 381, &c. Id. Entretien. p. 369, &c.

account of its intrinsic neatness and elegance; and that the Peruvians, though the most improved of all the Americans, were not advanced beyond the infancy of arts.

An imperfect civilization. No cities but Cuzco.

But notwithstanding so many circumstances, which seem to indicate an high degree of improvement in Peru, others occur that suggest the idea of a society still in the first stages of its transition from barbarism to civilization. In all the dominions of the Incas, Cuzco was the only place that had the appearance, or was entitled to the name of a city. Every where else, the people lived mostly in detached habitations, dispersed over the country, or, at the utmost, settled together in small villages. d) But until men are brought to assemble in numerous bodies, and incorporated such close union, as to enjoy frequent intercourse, and to feel mutual dependence, they never imbibe perfectly the spirit, or assume the manners of social life. In a country of immense extent, with only one city, the progress of manners, and the improvement either of the necessary or more refined arts, must have been so slow, and carried on under such disadvantages, that it is more surprising the Peruvians should have advanced so far in refinement, than that they did not proceed farther.

d) Zarate, lib. i. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 4.

No perfect separation of professions,

In consequence of this state of imperfect union, the separation of professions in Peru was not so complete as among the Mexicans. The less closely men associate, the more simple are their manners, and the fewer their wants. The crafts of common and most necessary use in life do not, in such a state, become so complex or difficult, as to render it requisite that men should be trained to them by any particular course of education. All those professions were accordingly exercised by every Peruvian indiscriminately. None but artists, employed in works of mere curiosity or ornament, constituted a separate order of men, or were distinguished from other citizens. e)

Little commercial intercourse.

From the want of cities in Peru, another consequence followed. There was little commercial intercourse among the inhabitants of that great empire. The activity of commerce is coeval with the foundation of cities; and from the moment that the members of any community settle in considerable numbers in one place, its operations become vigorous. The citizen must depend for subsistence on the labour of those who cultivate the ground. They, in

e) Acosta, lib. vi. c. 15. Vega, lib. v. c. 9. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. iv. c. 4.

return, must receive some equivalent. Thus mutual intercourse is established, and the productions of art are regularly exchanged for the fruits of agriculture. In the towns of the Mexican empire, stated markets were held, and whatever could supply any want or desire of man was an object of commerce. But in Peru, from the singular mode of dividing property, and the manner in which the people were settled, there was hardly any species of commerce carried on between different provinces, f) and the community was less acquainted with that active intercourse, which is at once a bond of union, and an incentive to improvement.

Unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians.

But the unwarlike spirit of the Peruvians was the most remarkable, as well as most fatal defect in their character. g) The greater part of the rude nations of America opposed their invaders with undaunted ferocity, though with little conduct or success. The Mexican maintained the struggle in defence of their liberties, with such persevering fortitude, that it was with difficulty the Spaniards triumphed over them. Peru was subdued at once, and almost without resistance; and the most favourable opportunities of regaining their freedom, and of

f) Vega, lib. vi. c. 8.

g) Xerez. 190. Sancho ap. Ram. iii. 372. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

crushing their oppressors, were lost through the timidity of the people. Though the traditional history of the Peruvians represents all the Incas as warlike princes, frequently at the head of armies, which they led to victory and conquest; few symptoms of such a martial spirit appear in any of their operations subsequent to the invasion of the Spaniards. The influence, perhaps, of those institutions which rendered their manners gentle, gave their minds this unmanly softness; perhaps, the constant serenity and mildness of the climate may have enervated the vigour of their frame; perhaps, some principle in their government, unknown to us, was the occasion of this political debility. Whatever may have been the cause, the fact is certain, and there is not an instance in history of any people so little advanced in refinement, so totally destitute of military enterprize. This character hath descended to their posterity. The Indians of Peru are now more tame and depressed than any people of America. Their feeble spirits, relaxed in lifeless inaction, seem hardly capable of any bold or manly exertion.

But, besides those capital defects in the political state of Peru, some detached circumstances and facts occur in the Spanish writers, which discover a considerable remainder of barbarity in their manners. A cruel custom, that prevailed in some of the most savage tribes, subsisted among the Peruvians. On the death of

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the Incas, and of other eminent persons, a considerable number of their attendants was put to death, and interred around their Guacas, that they might appear in the next world with their former dignity, and be served with the same respect. On the death of Huana-Capac, the most powerful of their monarchs, above a thousand victims were doomed to accompany him to the tomb. h) In one particular, their manners appear to have been more barbarous than those of most rude tribes. Though acquainted with the use of fire in preparing maize, and other vegetables for food; they devoured both flesh and fish perfectly raw, and astonished the Spaniards, with a practice repugnant to the ideas of all civilized people. i)

Other dominions of Spain in America.

But though Mexico and Peru are the possessions of Spain in the New World, which on account both of their ancient and present state, have attracted the greatest attention; her other dominions there are far from being inconsiderable, either in extent or value. The greater part of them was reduced to subjection during the first part of the sixteenth century, by private adventurers, who fitted out their small armaments either in Hispaniola or in Old Spain; and were

h) Acofta, lib. v. 7.

i) Xerez, p. 190. Sancho, Ram. iii. 372, C. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. i. c. 3.

we to follow each leader in his progress, we should discover the same daring courage, the same persevering ardour, the same rapacious desire of wealth, and the same capacity of enduring and surmounting every thing in order to attain it, which distinguished the operations of the Spaniards in their greater American conquests.

A brief survey of them.

But, instead of entering into a detail, which, from the similitude of the transactions, would appear almost a repetition of what has been already related, I shall satisfy myself with such a view of those provinces of the Spanish empire in America, which have not hitherto been mentioned, as may convey to my readers an adequate idea of its greatness, fertility, and opulence.

Such as are adjacent to the empire of Mexico. Cinaloa and Sonora, &c.

I begin with the countries contiguous to the two great monarchies, of whose history and institutions I have given some account, and shall then briefly describe the other districts of Spanish America. The jurisdiction of the viceroy of New Spain extends over several provinces, which were not subject to the dominion of the Mexicans. The countries of Cinaloa and Sonora, that stretch along the east side of the Vermilion sea, or gulf of Califor-

nia, as well as the immense kingdoms of New Navarre and New Mexico, which bend towards the west and north, did not acknowledge the sovereignty of Montezuma, or his predecessors. These regions, not inferior in magnitude to all the Mexican empire, are reduced some to a greater, others to a less degree of subjection to the Spanish yoke. They extended through the most delightful part of the temperate zone; their soil is, in general, remarkably fertile, and all their productions, whether animal or vegetable, are most perfect in their kind. They have all a communication either with the Pacifick Ocean, or with the Gulph of Mexico, and watered by such rivers as not only enrich them, but may become subservient to commerce. The number of Spaniards settled in those vast countries, is indeed extremely small. They may be said to have subdued, rather than to have occupied them. But if the population in their ancient establishments in America shall continue to increase, they may gradually spread over those provinces, of which, however inviting, they have not hitherto been able to take full possession.

Rich mines.

One circumstance may contribute to the speedy population of some districts. Very rich mines both of gold and silver have been discovered in many of the regions which I have

mentioned. Wherever these are opened, and worked with success, a multitude of people resort. In order to supply them with the necessities of life, cultivation must be increased, artificers of various kinds must assemble, and industry as well as wealth will be gradually diffused. Many examples of this have occurred in different parts of America since they fell under the dominion of the Spaniards. Populous villages and large towns have suddenly arisen amidst uninhabited wilds and mountains; and the working of mines, though far from being the most proper object towards which the attention of an infant society should be turned, may become the means both of promoting useful activity, and of augmenting the number of people.

A recent and remarkable discovery, and probable effects of this.

A recent and singular instance of this has happened, which, as it is but little known in Europe, and may be productive of great effects, merits attention. The Spaniards settled in the provinces of Cinaloa and Sonora, had been long disturbed by the depredations of some fierce tribes of Indians. In the year 1765, the incursions of those savages became so frequent, and so destructive, that the Spanish inhabitants, in despair, applied to the Marquis de Croix, viceroy of Mexico, for such a body of troops as might enable them to drive those formidable

invaders from their places of retreat in the mountains. But the treasury of Mexico was so much exhausted by the vast sums drawn from it, in order to support the late war against Great Britain, that the viceroy could afford them no aid. The respect due to his virtues, accomplished what his official power could not effect. He prevailed with the merchants to advance about two hundred thousand pesos for defraying the expence of the expedition. The war was conducted by an officer of abilities; and after being protracted for three years, chiefly by the difficulty of pursuing the fugitives over mountains and through defiles which were almost impassable, it terminated, in the year 1771, in the final submission of the tribes, which had been so long the object of terror to the two provinces. In the course of this service, the Spaniards marched through countries into which they seem not to have penetrated before that time, and discovered mines of such value, as was astonishing even to men acquainted with the riches contained in the mountains of the New World. At Cinaguilla, in the province of Sonora, they entered a plain of fourteen leagues in extent, in which they found gold in grains, at the depth of only sixteen inches, of such a size, that some of them weighed nine marks, and in such quantities, that in a short time, with a few labourers, they collected a thousand

marks of gold in grains; even without taking time to wash the earth that had been dug, which appeared to be so rich, that persons of skill computed that it might yield what would be equal in value to a million of pesos. Before the end of the year 1771, above two thousand persons were settled in Cineguilla, under the government of proper magistrates, and the inspection of several ecclesiasticks. As several other mines, not inferior in riches to that of Cineguilla, have been discovered, both in Sonora and Cinoloa, k) it is probable that these neglected and thinly inhabited provinces, may soon become as populous and valuable as any part of the Spanish empire in America.

California, its state, and probability of its improving.

The peninsula of California, on the other side of the Vermilion sea, seems to have been less known to the ancient Mexicans, than the provinces which I have mentioned. It was discovered by Cortes in the year 1536. l) During a long period it continued to be so little frequented, that even its form was unknown, and in most charts it was represented as an island, not as a peninsula. m) Though the climate of this country, if we may judge from

k) See NOTE XXXVII.

l) Book v. vol. ii.

m) See NOTE XXXVIII.

its situation, must be very desirable, the Spaniards have made small progress in peopling it. Towards the close of the last century, the Jesuits, who had great merit in exploring this neglected province, and in civilizing its rude inhabitants, imperceptibly acquired a dominion over it as complete as that which they possessed in their missions in Paraguay, and they laboured to introduce into it the same policy, and to govern the natives by the same maxims. In order to prevent the court of Spain from conceiving any jealousy of their designs and operations, they seem studiously to have depreciated the country, by representing the climate as so disagreeable and unwholesome, and the soil as so barren, that nothing but a zealous desire of converting the natives, could have induced them to settle there. n) Several public-spirited citizens endeavoured to undeceive their sovereigns, and to give them a better view of California; but in vain. At length, on the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Spanish dominions, the court of Madrid, as prone at that juncture to suspect the purity of the Order's intentions, as formerly to confide in them with implicit trust, appointed Don Joseph Galvez, whose abilities have since raised him to the high rank of minister for the Indies, to visit that peninsula. His account of the country

n) Venegas, Hist. of California, t. 26.

try was favourable; he found the pearl-fishery on its coasts to be valuable, and discovered mines of gold of a very promising appearance. o) From its vicinity to Cinaloa and Sonora, it is probable, that if the population of these provinces shall increase in the manner which I have supposed, California may, by degrees, receive from them such a recruit of inhabitants, as to be no longer reckoned among the desolate and useless districts of the Spanish empire.

Yucatan and Honduras. Their decline and revival.

On the east of Mexico, Yucatan and Honduras are comprehended in the government of New Spain, though anciently they can hardly be said to have formed a part of the Mexican empire. These large provinces, stretching from the Bay of Campeachy beyond Cape Gracias a Dios, do not, like the other territories of Spain in the New World, derive their value either from the fertility of their soil, or the richness of their mines; but they produce in greater abundance, than any part of America, the logwood tree, which, in dying some colours, is so far preferable to any other material, that the consumption of it in Europe is considerable, and it has become an article in commerce of great value. During a long period, no European nation intruded upon the

o) Lorenzano, 349, 350.

Spaniards in those provinces, or attempted to obtain and share in this branch of trade. But after the conquest of Jamaica by the English, it soon appeared what a formidable rival was now seated in the neighbourhood, of the Spanish territories. One of the first objects which tempted the English, was the great profit arising from the logwood trade, and the facility of wresting some portion of it from the Spaniards. Some adventurers from Jamaica made the first attempt at Cape Catoche, the south-east promontory of Yucatan, and by cutting logwood there, carried on a gainful traffick. When most of the trees near the coast in that place were felled, they removed to the island of Trist, in the Bay of Campeachy; and in later times their principal station has been in the Bay of Honduras. The Spaniards, alarmed at this encroachment, endeavoured by negociation, remonstrances, and open force, to prevent the English from obtaining any footing on that part of the American continent. But after struggling against it for more than a century, the disasters of last war extorted from the court of Madrid a reluctant consent to tolerate this settlement of foreigners in the heart of its territories. p) The pain which this humbling concession occasioned, seems to have prompted the Spaniards to devise a method of

p) Treaty of Paris, Art. xviii.

rendering it of little consequence, more effectual than all the efforts of negociation or violence. The logwood produced on the west coast of Yucatan, where the soil is drier, is in quality far superior to that which grows on the marshy grounds where the English are settled. By encouraging the cutting of this, and permitting the importation of it into Spain without paying any duty, q) such vigour has been given to this branch of commerce, and the logwood which the English bring to market has sunk so much in value, that their trade to the Bay of Honduras has gradually declined. r) since it obtained a legal sanction; and, it is probable, will soon be finally abandoned. In that event, Yucatan and Honduras will become possessions of considerable importance to Spain.

Costa Rica and Veragua.

Still farther east than Honduras lie the two provinces of Costa Rica and Veragua, which likewise belong to the viceroyalty of New Spain; but both have been so much neglected by the Spaniards, and are apparently of such small value, that they merit no particular attention.

Chili.

The most important province depending on the viceroyalty of Peru, is Chili. The Incas

q) Real Cedula, Campomanes, iii. 145.

r) See NOTE XXXIX.

had established their dominion in some of its northern districts; but in the greater part of the country, its gallant and high-spirited inhabitants maintained their independence. The Spaniards, allured by the fame of its opulence, early attempted the conquest of it under Diego Almagro; and after his death, Pedro de Valdivia resumed the design. Both met with fierce opposition. The former relinquished the enterprize in the manner which I have mentioned. s) The latter, after having given many displays, both of courage and military skill, was cut off, together with a considerable body of troops under his command. Francisco de Villagra, Valdivia's lieutenant, by his spirited conduct, checked the natives in their career, and saved the remainder of the Spaniards from destruction. By degrees, all the champaign country along the coast was subjected to the Spanish dominion. The mountainous country is still possessed by the Puelches, Araucos, and other tribes of its original inhabitants, formidable neighbours to the Spaniards; with whom, during the course of two centuries, they have been obliged to maintain almost perpetual hostility, suspended only by a few intervals of insecure peace.

Excellence of its climate and soil.

That part of Chili then, which may properly be deemed a Spanish province, is a narrow

s) Book vi.

district, extending along the coast from the desert of Atacamas to the island of Chiloe, above nine hundred miles. Its climate is the most delicious in the New World, and is hardly equalled by that of any region on the face of the earth. Though bordering on the Torrid Zone, it never feels the extremity of heat, being screened on the east by the Andes, and refreshed from the west by cooling seabreezes. The temperature of the air is so mild and equable, that the Spaniards give it the preference to that of the southern provinces in their native country. The fertility of the soil corresponds with the benignity of the climate, and is wonderfully accommodated to European productions. The most valuable of these, corn, wine, and oil, abound in Chili, as if they had been native to the country. All the fruits imported from Europe attain to full maturity there. The animals of our hemisphere not only multiply, but improve in this delightful region. The horned cattle are of larger size than those of Spain. Its breed of horses surpasses, both in beauty and in spirit, the famous Andalusian race, from which they sprung. Nor has nature exhausted her bounty on the surface of the earth; she has stored its bowels with riches. Valuable mines of gold, of silver, of copper, and of lead, have been discovered in various parts of it.

Cause of its being neglected by the Spaniards.

A country distinguished by so many blessings, we may be apt to conclude, would early become a favourite station of the Spaniards, and must have been cultivated with peculiar predilection and care. Instead of this, a great part of it remains unoccupied. In all this extent of country, there are not above eighty thousand white inhabitants, and about three times that number of negroes and people of a mixed race. The most fertile soil in America lies uncultivated, and some of its most promising mines remain unwrought. Strange as this neglect of the Spaniards to avail themselves of advantages, which seemed to court their acceptance, may appear, the causes of it can be traced. The only intercourse of Spain with its colonies in the South Sea, was carried on during two centuries by the annual fleet to Porto bello. All the produce of these colonies were shipped in the ports of Callao, or Arica in Peru, for Panama, and carried from thence across the isthmus. All the commodities which they received from the mother-country, were conveyed from Panama to the same harbours. Thus both the exports and imports of Chili passed through the hands of merchants settled in Peru. These had of course a profit on each; and in both transactions the Chilese felt their own subordination; and having no direct intercourse with the parent

state, they depended upon another province for the disposal of their productions, as well as for the supply of their wants. Under such discouragements, population could not increase, and industry was destitute of one chief incitement.

Prospect of its improvement.

But now that Spain, from motives which I shall mention hereafter, has adopted a new system, and carries on her commerce with the colonies in the South Sea, by ships which go round Cape Horn, a direct intercourse is opened between Chili and the mother-country. The gold, the silver, and the other commodities of the province will be exchanged in its own harbours for the manufactures of Europe. Chili may speedily rise into that importance among the Spanish settlements to which it is entitled by its natural advantages. It may become the granary of Peru, and the other provinces along the Pacifick Ocean; it may supply them with wine, with cattle, with horses, with hemp, and many other articles for which they now depend upon Europe. Though the new system has been established only a few years, those effects of it begin already to be observed. t) If it shall be adhered to with any steadiness for half a century, one may venture to foretel,

t) Campomanes, ii. 157.

that population, industry, and opulence will advance in this province with rapid progress.

Provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata. Northern and southern division.

To the east of the Andes, the provinces of Tucuman and Rio de la Plata, border on Chili, and like it were dependent on the Vice-royalty of Peru. These regions of immense extent stretch in length from north to south above thirteen hundred miles, and in breadth more than a thousand. This country, which is larger than most European kingdoms, naturally forms itself into two great divisions, one on the north, and the other on the south of Rio de la Plata. The former comprehends Paraguay, the famous missions of the Jesuits, and several other districts. But as disputes have long subsisted between the courts of Spain and Portugal, concerning its boundaries, which, it is probable, will be soon finally ascertained, either amicably, or by the decision of the sword, I chuse to reserve my account of this northern division, until I enter upon the history of Portuguese America, with which it is intimately connected; and, in relating it, I shall be able from authentick materials, supplied both by Spain and Portugal, to give a full and accurate description of the operations and views of the Jesuits, in rearing that singular fabrick of policy in America, which has drawn so much at-

tention, and has been so imperfectly understood. The latter division of the province contains the governments of Tucuman and Buenos-Ayres, and to these I shall at present confine my observations.

View of the latter.

The Spaniards entered this part of America by the river De la Plata; and though a succession of cruel disasters befel them in their early attempts to establish their dominion in it, they were encouraged to persist in the design, at first by the hopes of discovering mines in the interior country, and afterwards by the necessity of occupying it, in order to prevent any other nation from settling there, and penetrating by this route into their rich possessions in Peru. But except Buenos-Ayres, they have made no settlement of any consequence in all the vast space which I have mentioned. There are, indeed, scattered over it, a few places on which they have bestowed the name of towns, and to which they have endeavoured to add some dignity, by erecting them into bishopricks; but they are no better than paltry villages, each with two or three hundred inhabitants. One circumstance, however, which was not originally foreseen, has contributed to render this district, though thinly peopled, of considerable importance. The province of Tucuman, together with the country to the south

of the Plata, instead of being covered with wood like other parts of America, forms one vast open plain, almost without a tree. The soil is a deep fertile mould, watered by many streams descending from the Andes, and clothed in perpetual verdure. In this rich pasturage, the horses and cattle imported by the Spaniards from Europe have multiplied to a degree which almost exceeds belief. This has enabled the inhabitants not only to open a lucrative trade with Peru, by supplying it with cattle, horses, and mules, but to carry on a commerce no less beneficial, by the exportation of hides to Europe. From both, the colony has derived great advantages. But its commodious situation for carrying on contraband trade, has been the chief source of its prosperity. While the court of Madrid adhered to its ancient system, with respect to its communication with America, the river De la Plata lay so much out of the course of Spanish navigation, that interlopers, almost without any risque of being either observed or obstructed, could pour in European manufactures in such quantities, that these not only supplied the wants of the colony, but were conveyed into all the eastern districts of Peru. When the Portuguese in Brasil extended their settlements to the banks of Rio de la Plata, a new channel was opened, by which prohibited commodities flowed into the Spanish territories, with still more facility, and in greater abund-

ance. This illegal traffick, however detrimental to the parent state, contributed to the increase of the settlement, which had the immediate benefit of it, and Buenos-Ayres became gradually a populous and opulent town. What may be the effect of alteration lately made in the government of this colony, the nature of which shall be described in the subsequent Book, cannot hitherto be known.

Other territories of Spain.

All the other territories of Spain in the New World, the islands excepted, of whose discovery and reduction I have formerly given an account, are comprehended under two great divisions; the former denominated the kingdom Tierra Firmè, the provinces of which stretch along the Atlantick, from the eastern frontier of New Spain to the mouth of the Orinoco; the latter, the New Kingdom of Granada, situated in the interior country. With a short view of these I shall close this part of my work.

Darien.

To the east of Veragua, the last province subject to the viceroy of Mexico, lies the isthmus of Darien. Though it was in this part of the continent that the Spaniards first began to plant colonies, they have made no considerable progress in peopling it. As the country is extremely mountainous, deluged with rain

during a good part of the year, remarkably unhealthy, and contains no mines of great value, the Spaniards would probably have abandoned it altogether, if they had not been allured to continue by the excellence of the harbour of Porto bello on the one sea, and that of Panama on the other. These have been called the keys to the communication between the north and south sea, between Spain and her most valuable colonies. In consequence of this advantage, Panama has become a considerable and thriving town. The peculiar noxiousness of its climate has prevented Porto bello from increasing in the same proportion. As the intercourse with the settlements in the Pacifick Ocean is now carried on by another channel, it is probable that both Porto bello and Panama will decline when no longer nourished and enriched by that commerce to which they were indebted for their prosperity, and even their existence.

Carthagena and Santa Martha.

The provinces of Carthagena and Santa Martha stretch to the eastward of the isthmus of Darien. The country still continues mountainous, but its vallies begin to expand, are well watered, and extremely fertile. Pedro de Heredia subjected this part of America to the crown of Spain, about the year 1532. It is thinly peopled, and of course ill cultivated. It produces, however, a variety of valuable drugs,

and some precious stones, particularly emeralds. But its chief importance is derived from the harbour of Carthagena, the safest and best fortified of any in the American dominions of Spain. In a situation so favourable, commerce soon began to flourish. As early as the year 1544, it seems to have been a town of some note. But when Carthagena was chosen as the port in which the galleons should first begin to trade on their arrival from Europe, and to which they were directed to return, in order to prepare for their voyage homeward, the commerce of its inhabitants was so much favoured by this arrangement, that it soon became one of the most populous, opulent, and beautiful cities in America. There is, however, reason to apprehend, that it has reached its highest point of exaltation, and that it will be so far affected by the change in the Spanish system of trade with America, which has withdrawn from it the desirable visits of the galleons, as to feel at least a temporary decline. But the wealth now collected there, must find or create employment for itself, and may be turned with advantage into some new channel. Its harbour is so safe and so conveniently situated for receiving commodities from Europe, its merchants have been so long accustomed to convey these into all the adjacent provinces, that it is probable they will still retain this branch of trade, and Carthagena continue to be a city of great importance.

Venezuela.

The province contiguous to Santa Martha on the east, was first visited by Alonso de Ojeda, in the year 1499; u) and the Spaniards, on their landing there, having observed some huts in an Indian village built upon piles, in order to raise them above the stagnated water which covered the plain, were led to bestow upon it the name of Venezuela, or Little Venice, by their usual propensity to find a resemblance, between what they discovered in America, and the objects which were familiar to them in Europe. They made some attempts to settle there, but with little success. The final reduction of the province was accomplished by means very different from those to which Spain was indebted for its other acquisitions in the New World. The ambition of Charles V. often engaged him in operations of such variety and extent, that his revenues were not sufficient to defray the expence of carrying them into execution. *Among other expedients for supplying the deficiency of his funds, he had borrowed large sums from the Vessers of Augsburgh, the most opulent merchants at that time in Europe. By way of retribution for these, or in hopes, perhaps of obtaining a new loan, he bestowed upon them the province of Venezuela, to be held as an

u) Book li. vol. i.

hereditary fief of the crown of Castile, on condition that within a limited time they should render themselves masters of the country, and establish a colony there. Under the direction of such persons, it might have been expected, that a settlement would have been established on maxims very different from those of the Spaniards, and better calculated to encourage such useful industry, as mercantile proprietors might have known to be the only certain source of prosperity and opulence. But unfortunately they committed the execution of their plan to some of those soldiers of fortune with which Germany abounded in the sixteenth century. These adventurers, impatient to amass riches, that they might speedily abandon a station which they soon discovered to be very uncomfortable, instead of planting a colony in order to cultivate and improve the country, wandered from district to district in search of mines, plundering the natives with unfeeling rapacity, or oppressing them by the imposition of intolerable tasks. In the course of a few years, their avarice and exactions, in comparison with which those of the Spaniards were moderate, desolated the province so completely, that it could hardly afford them subsistence, and the Vellers relinquished a property, from which the inconsiderate conduct of their agents left them no hope of ever deriving any advantage. x) When

x) Civedo y Bagnos Hist. de Venezuela, p. II, &c.

the wretched remainder of the Germans deserted Venezuela, the Spaniards again took possession of it; but, notwithstanding many natural advantages, it is one of their most languishing and unproductive settlements.

Caraccas and Cumana.

The provinces of Caraccas and Cumana are the last of the Spanish territories on this coast; but in relating the origin and operations of the mercantile company, in which an exclusive right of trade with them has been vested, I shall hereafter give occasion to consider their state and productions.

New kingdom of Granada.

The New Kingdom of Granada is entirely an inland country of vast extent. This important addition was made to the dominions of Spain about the year 1536, by Sebastian de Benalcazar and Gonzalo Ximenes de Quesada, two of the bravest and most accomplished officers employed in the conquest of America. The former, who commanded at that time in Quito, attacked it from the south; the latter made his invasion from Santa Martha on the north. As the original inhabitants of this region were farther advanced in improvement, than any people in America but the Mexicans and Peruvians, y) they defended them-

y) Book iv. vol. ii.

themselves with great resolution and good conduct. The abilities and perseverance of Benalcázar and Quesada surmounted all opposition, though not without encountering many dangers, and reduced the country into the form of a Spanish province.

The New Kingdom of Granada is so far elevated above the level of the sea, that though it approaches almost to the equator, the climate is remarkably temperate. The fertility of its valleys is not inferior to that of the richest districts in America, and its higher grounds yield gold and precious stones of various kinds. It is not by digging into the bowels of the earth that this gold is found; it is mingled with the soil near the surface, and separated from it by repeated washing with water. This operation is carried on wholly by negro slaves; for though the chill subterranean air has been discovered, by experience, to be so fatal to them, that they cannot be employed in the deep silver mines, they are more capable of performing the other species of labour than Indians. As the natives in the New Kingdom of Granada are exempt from that service which has wasted their race so rapidly in other parts of America, it is remarkably populous. Some districts yield gold with a profusion no less wonderful than that in the vale of Cineguilla, which I have formerly mentioned, and it is often found in large pepitas, or grains, which manifest the

abundance in which it is produced. On a rising ground near Pamplona, single labourers have collected in a day what was equal in value to a thousand pesos. z) A late governor of Santa Fé brought with him to Spain a lump of virgin gold, estimated to be worth seven hundred and forty pounds sterling. This, which is, perhaps, the largest and finest specimen ever found in the New World, is now deposited in the royal cabinet of Madrid. But without founding any calculation on what is rare and extraordinary, the value of the gold usually collected in this country, particularly in the provinces of Popayan and Choco, is of considerable amount. Its towns are populous and flourishing. The number of inhabitants in almost every part of the country daily increases. Cultivation and industry of various kinds begin to be encouraged, and to prosper. A considerable trade is carried on with Carthagena, the produce of the mines, and other commodities, being conveyed down the great river of St. Magdalen to that city. On another quarter, the new kingdom of Granada has a communication with the Atlantick by the river Orinoco; but the country which stretches along its banks towards the east, is little known, and imperfectly occupied by the Spaniards.

z) Piedrahita Hist. del N. Reyno, p. 481. MS. penes me.

BOOK VIII.

View of the policy and trade of the Spanish colonies.

AFTER tracing the progress of the Spaniards in their discoveries and conquests during more than half a century, I have conducted them to that period when their authority was established over almost all the vast regions in the New World still subject to their dominion. The effect of their settlements upon the countries of which they took possession, the maxims which they adopted in forming their new colonies, the interior structure and policy of these, together with the influence of their progressive improvement upon the parent state, and upon the commercial intercourse of nations, are the objects to which we now turn our attention.

Depopulation of America the first effect of them.

The first visible consequence of the establishments made by the Spaniards in America, was the diminution of the ancient inhabitants, to a degree equally astonishing and deplorable. I have already, on different occasions, mentioned the disastrous influence under which the connection of the Americans with the people of our hemisphere commenced, both in the islands, and in several parts of the continent, and have touched upon

various causes of their rapid consumption. Wherever the inhabitants of America had resolution to take arms in defence of their liberty and rights, many perished in the unequal contest, and were cut off by their fierce invaders. But the greatest desolation was followed after the sword was sheathed, and the conquerors were settled in tranquillity.

Causes of this in the islands and some parts of the
continent.

It was in the islands, and in those provinces of the continent which stretch from the Gulf of Trinidad to the confines of Mexico, that the fatal effects of the Spanish dominion were first and most sensibly felt. All these were occupied either by wandering tribes of hunters, or by such as had made but small progress in cultivation and industry. When they were compelled by their new masters to take up a fixed residence, and to apply to regular labour; when tasks were imposed upon them disproportioned to their strength, and were exacted with unrelenting severity, they possessed not vigour either of mind or of body to sustain this unusual load of oppression. Dejection and despair drove many to end their lives by violence. Fatigue and famine destroyed more. In all those extensive regions, the original race of inhabitants wasted away; in some it was totally extinguished. In Mexico, where a powerful and martial people distinguished

their opposition to the Spaniards by efforts of courage worthy of a better fate, great numbers fell in the field; and there, as well as in Peru, still greater numbers perished under the hardships of attending the Spanish armies in their various expeditions and civil wars, worn out with the incessant toil of carrying their baggage, provisions, and military stores.

In New Spain and Peru.

But neither the rage nor cruelty of the Spaniards were so destructive to the people of Mexico and Peru, as the inconsiderate policy with which they established their new settlements. The former were temporary calamities, fatal to individuals; the latter was a permanent evil, which with gradual consumption, wasted the nation. When the provinces of Mexico and Peru were divided among the conquerors, each was eager to obtain a district, from which he might expect an instantaneous recompence for all his services. Soldiers, accustomed to the carelessness and dissipation of a military life, had neither industry to carry on any plan of regular cultivation, nor patience to wait for its flow, but certain returns. Instead of settling in the vallies occupied by the natives, where the fertility of the soil would have amply rewarded the diligence of the planter, they chose to fix their stations in some of the mountainous regions, frequent both in New Spain and in

Peru. To search for mines of gold and silver, was the chief object of their activity. The vast prospects which this opens, and the alluring hopes which it continually presents, correspond wonderfully with the spirit of enterprize and adventure that animated the first emigrants to America in every part of their conduct. In order to push forward those favourite projects, so many hands were wanted, that the service of the natives became indispensably requisite. They were, accordingly, compelled to abandon their ancient habitations in the plains, and driven in crowds to the mountains. This sudden transition from the sultry climate of the vallies, to the chill penetrating air peculiar to high lands in the torrid zone; the fatigue of exorbitant labour, scanty or unwholesome nourishment, and the despondency occasioned by a species of oppression to which they were not accustomed, and of which they saw no end, affected them nearly as much as their less industrious countrymen in the islands. They sunk under the united pressure of those calamities, and melted away with almost equal rapidity. z) In consequence of this, together with the introduction of the small pox, a malady unknown in America, and extremely fatal to the natives, a) the number

z) Torquemada, i. 613.

a) B. Diaz, c. 124. Herrera, dec. 2. lib. x. c. 4. Ulloa Entretien. 206.

of people both in New Spain and Peru was so much reduced, that in a few years the accounts of their ancient population appeared almost incredible, b)

Not the result of any system of policy;

Such are the most considerable events and causes, which, by their combined operation, contributed to depopulate America. Without attending to these, many authors, astonished at the suddenness of the desolation, have ascribed this unexampled event to a system of policy no less profound than atrocious. The Spaniards, as they pretend, conscious of their own inability to occupy the vast regions, which they had discovered, and foreseeing the impossibility of maintaining their authority over a people infinitely superior to themselves in number, in order to preserve America, resolved to exterminate the inhabitants, and by converting a great part of the country into a desert, endeavoured to secure their own dominion over it. c) But nations seldom extend their views to objects so remote, or lay their plans so deep; and, for the honour of humanity, we may observe, that no nation ever deliberately formed such an execrable scheme. The Spanish monarchs, far from acting upon any such system of destruction, were

b) Torquem. 615. 642, 643. See NOTE XL.

c) See NOTE XLI.

uniformly solicitous for the preservation of their new subjects. With Isabella, zeal for propagating the christian faith, together with the desire of communicating the knowledge of truth, and the consolations of religion to people destitute of spiritual light, were more than ostensible motives for encouraging Columbus to attempt his discoveries. Upon his success, she endeavoured to fulfil her pious purpose, and manifested the most tender concern to secure not only religious instruction, but mild treatment, to that inoffensive race of men subjected to her crown. d) Her successors adopted the same ideas; and, on many occasions, which I have mentioned, their authority was interposed in the most vigorous exertions, to protect the people of America from the oppression of their Spanish subjects. Their regulations for this purpose were numerous, and often repeated. They were framed with wisdom, and dictated by humanity. After their possessions in the New World became so extensive, as might have excited some apprehensions of difficulty in retaining their dominion over them, the spirit of their regulations was as mild as when their settlements were confined to the islands alone. Their solicitude to protect the Indians seems rather to have augmented as their acquisitions increased; and from ardour to accomplish this, they

d) See NOTE XLII.

enacted, and endeavoured to enforce the execution of laws, which excited a formidable rebellion in one of their colonies, and spread alarm and disaffection through all the rest. But the avarice of individuals was too violent to be controlled by the authority of laws. Rapacious and daring adventurers, far removed from the seat of government, little accustomed to the restraints of military discipline while in service, and still less disposed to respect the feeble jurisdiction of civil power in an infant colony, despised or eluded every regulation that set bounds to their exactions and tyranny. The parent state, with persevering attention, issued edicts to prevent the oppression of the Indians; the colonists, regardless of these, or trusting to their distance for impunity, continued to consider, and treat them as slaves. The governors themselves, and other officers employed in the colonies, several of whom were as indigent and rapacious as the adventurers over whom they presided, were too apt to adopt their contemptuous ideas of the conquered people; and instead of checking, encouraged or connived at their excesses. The desolation of the New World should not then be charged on the court of Spain, or be considered as the effect of any system of policy adopted there. It ought to be imputed wholly to the conquerors and first planters of America, who, by measures no less

inconsiderate than unjust, counteracted the edicts of their sovereign, and have brought disgrace upon their country.

nor the effect of religion.

With still greater injustice, have many authors represented the intolerating spirit of the Roman Catholick religion, as the cause of exterminating the Americans, and have accused the Spanish ecclesiasticks of animating their countrymen to the slaughter of that innocent people, as idolators and enemies of God. But the first missionaries who visited America, though weak and illiterate, were pious men. They early espoused the defence of the natives, and vindicated their character from the aspersions of their conquerors, who, describing them as incapable of being formed to the offices of civil life, or of comprehending the doctrines of religion, contended, that they were a subordinate race of men, on whom the hand of nature had set the mark of servitude. From the accounts which I have given of the humane and persevering zeal of the Spanish missionaries, in protecting the helpless flock committed to their charge, they appear in a light which reflects lustre upon their function. They were ministers of peace, who endeavoured to wrest the rod from the hands of oppressors. To their powerful interposition, the Americans were indebted for every regulation tending to mitigate the rigour of

their fate. The clergy in the Spanish settlements, regular as well as secular, are still considered by the Indians as their natural guardians, to whom they have recourse under the hardships and exactions to which they are too often exposed. e)

The number of the Indians still remaining.

But, notwithstanding the rapid depopulation of America, a very considerable number of the native race still remains both in Mexico and Peru, especially in those parts which were not exposed to the first fury of the Spanish arms, or desolated by the first efforts of their industry, still more ruinous. In Guatemala, Chiapa, Nicaragua, and the other delightful provinces of the Mexican empire, which stretch along the south-sea, the race of Indians is still numerous. Their settlements in some places are so populous, as to merit the name of cities. f) In the three audiences into which New Spain is divided, there are at least two millions of Indians; a pitiful remnant, indeed, of its ancient population, but such as still forms a body of people superior in number to that of all the other inhabitants of this vast country. g) In Peru several districts, particularly in the kingdom of Quito, are occupied almost entirely by Indians.

e) See NOTE XLIII.

f) See NOTE XLIV.

g) See NOTE XLY.

In other provinces they are mingled with the Spaniards, and in many of their settlements practise the mechanick arts, and fill most of the inferior stations in society. As the inhabitants both of Mexico and Peru were accustomed to a fixed residence, and to some degree of regular industry, less violence was requisite in bringing them to some conformity with the European modes of civil life. But wherever the Spaniards settled among the savage tribes of America, their attempts to incorporate with them have been always fruitless, and often fatal to the natives. Impatient of restraint, and disdaining labour as a mark of servility, they either abandoned their original seats, and sought for independence in mountains and forests inaccessible to their oppressors, or perished when reduced to a state repugnant to their ancient ideas and habits. In the districts adjacent to Carthagena, to Panama, and to Buenos-Ayres, the desolation is more general than even in those parts of Mexico, and Peru, of which the Spaniards have taken most full possession.

General ideas of the policy of Spain in its colonies.

But the establishments of the Spaniards in the New World, though fatal to its ancient inhabitants, were made at a period when that monarchy was capable of forming them to best advantage. By the union of all its petty kingdoms, Spain was become a powerful state,

equal to so great an undertaking. Its monarchs, having extended their prerogative far beyond the limits which once circumscribed the regal power in every kingdom of Europe, were hardly subject to controul, either in concerting or in executing their measures. In every wide extended empire, the form of government must be simple, and the sovereign authority such, that its resolutions may be taken with promptitude, and may pervade the whole with sufficient force. Such was the power of the Spanish monarchs, when they were called to deliberate concerning the mode of establishing their dominion over the most remote provinces, which had ever been subjected to any European state. In this deliberation, they felt themselves under no constitutional restraint, and that, as independent masters of their own resolves, they might issue the edicts requisite for modelling the government of the new colonies, by a mere act of prerogative.

Early interposition of the regal authority.

This early interposition of the Spanish crown, in order to regulate the policy and trade of its colonies, is a peculiarity which distinguishes their progress from that of the colonies of any other European nation. When the Portuguese, the English, and French, took possession of the regions in America which they now occupy, the advantages which these promised to yield

were so remote and uncertain, that their colonies were suffered to struggle through a hard infancy, almost without guidance or protection from the parent state. But gold and silver, the first productions of the Spanish settlements in the New World, were more alluring, and immediately attracted the attention of their monarchs. Though they had contributed little to the discovery, and almost nothing to the conquest of the New World, they instantly assumed the function of its legislators; and having acquired a species of dominion formerly unknown, they formed a plan for exercising it, to which nothing similar occurs in the history of human affairs.

All power and property vested in the crown.

The fundamental maxim of Spanish jurisprudence with respect to America, is to consider what has been acquired there as vested in the crown, rather than in the state. By the bull of Alexander VI. on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its right, all the regions that had been, or should be discovered, were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories, which the arms of their subjects conquered in the New World. From them, all grants of land there flowed, and to them they finally returned. The leaders who

conducted the various expeditions, the governors who presided over the different colonies, the officers of justice, and the ministers of religion, were all appointed by their authority, and removable at their pleasure. The people who composed infant settlements were intitled to no privileges independent of the sovereign, or that served as a barrier against the power of the crown. It is true, that when towns were built, and formed into bodies corporate, citizens were permitted to elect their own magistrates, who governed them by laws which the community enacted. Even in the most despotick states, this feeble spark of liberty is not extinguished. But in the cities of Spanish America, this jurisdiction is merely municipal, and is confined to the regulation of their own interior commerce and police. In whatever relates to publick government, and the general interest, the will of the sovereign is law. No political power originates from the people. All centres in the crown, and in the officers of its nomination.

All the new dominions of Spain subjected to two viceroys.

When the conquests of the Spaniards in America were completed, their monarchs, in forming the plan of interior policy for their new dominions, divided them into two immense governments, one subject to the viceroy of New Spain, the other to the viceroy of Peru. The

jurisdiction of the former extended over all the provinces belonging to Spain in the northern division of the American continent. Under that of the latter, was comprehended whatever she possessed in South America. This arrangement, which, from the beginning, was attended with many inconveniencies, became intolerable when the remote provinces of each vice-royalty began to improve in industry and population. The people complained of their subjection to a superior, whose place of residence was so distant, or so inaccessible, as almost excluded them from any intercourse with the seat of government. The authority of the viceroy over districts so far removed from his own eye and observation, was unavoidably both feeble and ill-directed. As a remedy for those evils, a third vice-royalty has been established in the present century, at Santa Fé de Bogota, the capital of the new kingdom of Granada, the jurisdiction of which extends over the whole kingdom of Tierra Firmè, and the province of Quito. k)

Their powers.

Those viceroys not only represent the person of their sovereign, but possess his regal prerogatives within the precincts of their own governments, in their utmost extent. Like him, they exercise supreme authority in every department of government, civil, military, and criminal

k) Voy. de Ulloa, i. 23. 255.

criminal. They have the sole right of nominating the persons who hold many offices of the highest importance, and the occasional privilege of supplying such as are in the royal gift, until the successor appointed by the king shall arrive. The external pomp of their government is suited to its real dignity and power. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of command, displaying such magnificence, as hardly retains the appearance of delegated authority. i)

Courts of Audience.

But as the viceroys cannot discharge in person the functions of a supreme magistrate in every part of their extensive jurisdiction, they are aided in their government by officers and tribunals similar to those in Spain. The conduct of civil affairs in the various provinces and districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided, is committed to magistrates of various orders and denominations; some appointed by the king, others by the viceroy, but all subject to the command of the latter, and amenable to the jurisdiction. The administration of justice is vested in tribunals, known by the name of Audiences, and formed upon the model of the court of Chancery in Spain.

i) Ulloa, Voy. i. 432. Gage, 61.

These are eleven in number, and dispense justice to as many districts, into which the Spanish dominions in America are divided. k) The number of judges in the court of Audience is various, according to the extent and importance of their jurisdiction. The station is no less honourable than lucrative, and is commonly filled by persons of such abilities and merit as renders this tribunal extremely respectable. Both civil and criminal causes come under their cognizance, and for each peculiar judges are set apart.

Their jurisdiction.

Though it is only in the most despotick governments, that the sovereign exercises in person the formidable prerogative of administering justice to his subjects, and in absolving, or condemning, consults no law but what is deposited in his own breast; though in all the monarchies of Europe, judicial authority is committed to magistrates, whose decisions are regulated by known laws and established forms, the Spanish viceroys have often attempted to intrude themselves into the seat of justice, and, with an ambition which their distance from the controul of a superior rendered bold, have aspired at a power which their master does not venture to assume. In order to check an usurpation which must have annihilated justice

k) See NOTE XLVI.

and security in the Spanish colonies, by subjecting the lives and property of all to the will of a single man, the viceroys have been prohibited, in the most explicit terms, by repeated laws, from interfering in the judicial proceedings of the courts of Audience, or from delivering an opinion, or giving a voice with respect to any point litigated before them. l) In some particular cases, in which any question of civil right is involved, even the political regulations of the viceroy may be brought under the review of the court of Audience, which, in those instances, may be deemed an intermediate power placed between him and the people, as a constitutional barrier to circumscribe his jurisdiction. But as legal restraints on a person who represents the sovereign, and is clothed with his authority, are little suited to the genius of Spanish policy; the hesitation and reserve with which it confers this power on the courts of Audience, are remarkable. They may advise, they may remonstrate; but, in the event of a direct collision between their opinion and the will of the viceroy, what he determines must be carried into execution, and nothing remains for them, but to lay the matter before the king and the council of the Indies. m) But to be intitled to

S 2

l) Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 35. 38. 44. lib. iii. tit. iii. l. 36, 37.

m) Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. c. 3. n. 40, 41. Recop. lib. ii. tit. xv. l. 36. lib. iib. tit. iiii. l. 34. lib. v. tit. ix. l. 1.

remonstrate, and inform against a person, before whom all others must be silent, and tamely submit to his decrees, is a privilege which adds dignity to the courts of Audience. This is farther augmented by another circumstance. Upon the death of a viceroy, without any provision of a successor by the king, the supreme power is vested in the court of Audience resident in the capital of the viceroyalty, and the senior judge, assisted by his brethren, exercises all the functions of the viceroy while the office continues vacant. n) In matters which come under the cognizance of the Audiences, in the course of their ordinary jurisdiction, as courts of justice, their sentences are final in every litigation concerning property of less value than six thousand pesos; but when the subject in dispute exceeds that sum, their decisions are subject to review, and may be carried by appeal before the royal council of the Indies. o)

Council of the Indies.

In this council, one of the most considerable in the monarchy for dignity and power, is vested the supreme government of all the Spanish dominions in America. It was first established by Ferdinand, in the year 1511, and brought into a more perfect form by Charles V. in the year 1524.

n) Recop. lib. i. tit. xv. l. 57, &c.

o) Recop. lib. v. tit. xiii. l. 1, &c.

its power.

Its jurisdiction extends to every department, ecclesiastical, civil, military, and commercial. All laws and ordinances relative to the government and police of the colonies originate there, and must be approved of by twothirds of the members, before they are issued in the name of the king. All the offices, of which the nomination is reserved to the crown, are conferred in this council. To it each person employed in America, from the viceroy downwards is accountable. It reviews their conduct, rewards their services, and inflicts the punishments due to their malversations. p) Before it, is laid whatever intelligence, either publick or secret, is received from America, and every scheme of improving the administration, the police, or the commerce of the colonies, is submitted to its consideration. From the first institution of the council of the Indies, it has been the constant object of the catholick monarchs to maintain its authority, and to make such additions from time to time, both to its power and its splendor, as might render it formidable to all their subjects in the New World. Whatever degree of publick order and virtue still remains in that country, where so many circumstances conspire to relax the former, and to corrupt the latter, may be

p) Recop. lib. ii. tit. ii. l. 1, 2, &c.

ascribed in a great measure to the wise regulations and vigilant inspection of this respectable tribunal, q)

Casa de Contratacion.

As the king is supposed to be always present in his council of the Indies, its meetings are held in the place where he resides. Another tribunal has been instituted, in order to regulate such commercial affairs as required the immediate and personal inspection of those appointed to superintend them. This is called *Casa de la Contratacion*, or the house of trade, and was established in Seville, to whose port commerce with the New World was confined, as early as the year 1501.

Its functions.

It may be considered both as a board of trade, and as a court of judicature. In the former capacity, it takes cognizance of whatever relates to the intercourse of Spain with America, it regulates what commodities should be exported thither, and has the inspection of such as are received in return. It decides concerning the departure of the fleets for the West Indies, the freight and burden of the ships, their equipment and destination. In the latter capacity, it judges with respect to every

q) Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. iv. l. 12.

question, civil, commercial, or criminal, arising in consequence of the transactions of Spain with America; and in both these departments, its decisions are exempted from the review of any court but that of the council of the Indies. r)

Such is the great outline of that system of government, which Spain has established in her American colonies. To enumerate the various subordinate boards and officers employed in the administration of justice, in collecting the publick revenue, and in regulating the interior police of the country; to describe their different functions, and to enquire into the mode and effect of their operations; would prove a detail no less intricate than minute and uninteresting.

First object, to secure an exclusive trade.

The first object of the Spanish monarchs was to secure the productions of the colonies to the parent state, by an absolute prohibition of any intercourse with foreign nations. They took possession of America by right of conquest and, conscious not only of their feebleness of their infant settlements, but aware of the difficulty in establishing their dominion over such vast regions, or in retaining so many reluctant nations under the yoke, they dreaded the intrusion of strangers; they even

r) Recop. lib. iv. tit. i. Veitia Norte la Contratacion, lib. i. c. I.

shunned their inspection, and endeavoured to keep them at a distance from their coasts. This spirit of jealousy and exclusion, which at first was natural, and perhaps necessary, augmented as their possessions in America extended, and the value of them came to be more fully understood. In consequence of it, a system of colonizing was introduced, to which there had hitherto been nothing similar among mankind. In the ancient world, it was not uncommon to send forth colonies. But they were of two kinds only. They were either migrations, which served to disburden a state of its superfluous subjects, when they multiplied too fast for the territory which they occupied: or they were military detachments stationed, as garrisons, in a conquered province. The colonies of some Greek republics, and the swarms of northern barbarians which settled in different parts of Europe, were of the first species. The Roman colonies were of the second. In the former, the connection with the mother-country quickly ceased, and they became independent states. In the latter, as the disjunction was not complete, the dependence continued.

Regulations for that purpose.

In their American settlements, the Spanish monarchs took what was peculiar to each, and studied to unite them. By sending colonies to

regions so remote, by establishing in each a form of interior policy and administration, under distinct governors, and with peculiar laws, they disjoined them from the mother-country. By retaining in their own hands the rights of legislation, as well as that of imposing taxes, together with the power of nominating the persons who filled every department, civil or military, they secured their dependence. Happily for Spain, the situation of her colonies was such, as rendered it possible to reduce this new idea into practice. Almost all the countries which she had discovered and occupied, lay within the tropicks. The productions of that large portion of that globe are different from those of Europe, even in its most southern provinces. The qualities of the climate and of the soil naturally turn the industry of such as settle there into new channels. When the Spaniards first took possession of their domains in America, the precious metals which they yielded, were the only object that attracted their attention. Even when their efforts began to take a better direction, they employed themselves almost wholly in rearing such peculiar productions of the climate, as, from their rarity or value, were of chief demand in the mother-country. Allured by vast prospects of immediate wealth, they disdained to waste their industry on what was less lucrative, but of superior moment. In order to render it im-

possible to correct this error, and to prevent them from making any efforts in industry which might interfere with those of the mother-country, the establishment of several species of manufactures, and even the culture of the vine, or olive, are prohibited in the Spanish colonies, s) under severe penalties. t) They must trust entirely to the mother-country for the objects of primary necessity. Their clothes, their furniture, their instruments of labour, their luxuries, and even considerable part of the provisions which they consume, were imported from Spain. During a great part of the sixteenth century, Spain, possessing an extensive commerce and flourishing manufactures, could supply with ease the growing demands of her colonies, from her own stores. The produce of their mines and plantations was given in exchange for these. But all that the colonies received, as well as all that they gave, was conveyed in Spanish bottoms. No vessel belonging to the colonies was ever permitted to carry the commodities of America to Europe. Even the commercial intercourse of one colony with another, was either absolutely prohibited, or limited by many jealous restrictions. All that America yields flows into the ports of Spain; all that it consumes must issue from them. No foreigner can enter its

s) See NOTE XLVII.

t) B. Ulloa Retab. des Manuf. &c. p. 206.

colonies without exprefs permission, no vef-
fel of any foreign nation is received into their
harbours; and the pains of death, with con-
fifcation of moveables, are denounced againft
every inhabitant who prefumes to trade with
them. u) Thus the colonies are kept in a ftate
of perpetual pupillage; and by the introduction
of this commercial dependence, a refinement
in policy of which Spain fet the firft example
to the European nations, the fupremacy of the
parent ftate hath been maintained over remote
colonies during two centuries and a half.

Slow progress of population from Europe.

Such are the capital maxims to which the
Spanifh monarchs feem to have attended in form-
ing their new fettlements in America. But
they could not plant with the fame rapidity
that they had deftroyed; and, from many con-
curring caufes, their progress was extremely
flow, in filling up the immense void which
their devaftations had occafioned. As foon as
the rage for difcovery and adventure began to
abate, the Spaniards opened their eyes to dan-
gers and diftreffes, which at firft they did not
perceive, or had defpifed. The numerous
hardfhips with which the members of infant
colonies have to ftuggle, the difeafes of un-
wholfome climates, fatal to the conftitution
of Europeans; the difficulty of bringing a coun-

u) Recopil. lib. ix. tit. xxvii. l. 1. 4; 7, &c.

try, covered with forests, into culture; the want of hands necessary for labour in some provinces, and the slow reward of industry in all, unless where the accidental discovery of mines enriched a few fortunate adventurers, were evils universally felt and magnified. Discouraged by the view of these, the spirit of migration was so much damped, that sixty years after the discovery of the New World, the number of Spaniards in all its provinces is computed not to have exceeded fifteen thousand. x)

Discouraged by the state of property,

The mode in which property was distributed in the Spanish colonies, and the regulations established with respect to the transmission of it, whether by descent or by sale, were extremely unfavourable to population. In order to promote a rapid increase of people in any new settlement, property in land ought to be divided into small shares, and the alienation of it should be rendered extremely easy. y)

But the rapaciousness of the Spanish conquerors of the New World paid no regard to this fundamental maxim of policy; and, as they possessed power, which enabled them to gratify the utmost extravagance of their wishes, many seized districts and provinces of vast extent,

x) See NOTE XLVIII.

y) Dr. Smith's Inquiry, li. 166.

and held them as encomiendas. By degrees they obtained the privilege of converting a part of these into Mayorasgos, a species of fief, introduced into the Spanish system of feudal jurisprudence, z) which can neither be divided nor alienated. Thus a great portion of landed property, under this rigid form of entail, is withheld from circulation, and descends from father to son unimproved, and of little value either to the proprietor or to the community. In the account which I have given of the reduction of Peru, various examples occur of enormous tracts of country occupied by some of the conquerors. a) The excesses in other provinces were similar, for as the value of the lands which they acquired, was originally estimated according to the number of Indians which lived upon them, America was in general so thinly peopled, that only districts of great extent could afford such a number of labourers as might be employed in the mines with any prospect of considerable gain. The pernicious effects of those radical errors in the distribution and nature of property in the Spanish settlements, are felt through every department of industry, and may be considered as one great cause of a progress of population so much slower than that which has taken place in better constituted colonies. b)

z) Recop. lib. iv. tit. iii. l. 24.

a) Book. vi.

b) See NOTE XLIX.

and the nature of their ecclesiastical policy.

To this we may add, that the support of the enormous and expensive fabric of their ecclesiastical establishment, has been a burden on the Spanish colonies, which has greatly retarded the progress of population and industry. The payment of tithes is a heavy tax on industry; and if the exaction of them be not regulated and circumscribed by the wisdom of the civil magistrate, it becomes intolerable and ruinous. But, instead of any restraint on the claims of ecclesiasticks, the inconsiderate zeal of the Spanish legislators admitted them into America in their full extent, and at once imposed on their infant colonies a burden which is in no slight degree oppressive to society, even in its most improved state. As early as the year 1501, the payment of tithes in the colonies was enjoined, and the mode of it regulated by law. Every article of primary necessity, towards which the attention of new settlers must naturally be turned, is subjected to that grievous exaction. c) Nor were the demands of the clergy confined to articles of simple culture. Its more artificial and operose productions, such as sugar, indigo, and cochineal, were soon declared to be tythable; d) and thus the industry of the planter was taxed in every

c) Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 2.

d) Recop. lib. i. tit. xiv. l. 3. and 4.

state of its progress, from its rudest essay to its highest improvement. To the weight of this legal imposition, the bigotry of the American Spaniards has made many voluntary additions. From their fond delight in the external pomp and parade of religion, and from superstitious reverence for ecclesiasticks of every denomination, they have bestowed profuse donations on churches and monasteries, and have unprofitably wasted a large proportion of that wealth, which might have nourished and given vigour to productive labour in growing colonies.

Various orders of people in the colonies.

But so fertile and inviting are the regions of America which the Spaniards have occupied, that, notwithstanding all the circumstances which have checked and retarded population, it has gradually increased, and filled the colonies of Spain with citizens of various orders.

Chapetones the first.

Among these, the Spaniards, who arrive from Europe, distinguished by the name of Chapetones, are the first in rank and power. From the jealous attention of the Spanish court to secure the dependence of the colonies, all departments of consequence are filled by persons sent from Europe; and, in order to prevent any of dubious fidelity from being employed, each must bring proof of a clear descent from a family of Old Christians, untainted with any

mixture of Jewish or Mahometan blood, and never disgraced by any censure of the inquisition. e) In such pure hands, power is deemed to be safely lodged, and almost every publick function, from the viceroyalty downwards, is committed to them alone. Every person, who by his birth, or residence in America, may be suspected of any attachment or interest adverse to the mother-country, is the object of distrust to such a degree, as amounts nearly to an exclusion from all offices of confidence or authority. f) By this conspicuous predilection of the court, the Chapetones are raised to such pre-eminence in America, that they look down with disdain on every other order of men.

Creoles the second.

The character and state of the Ceroles, or descendants of Europeans settled in America, the second class of subjects in the Spanish colonies, have enabled the Chapetones to acquire other advantages, hardly less considerable than those which they derive from the partial favour of government. Though some of the Creolin race are descended from the conquerors of the New World; though others can trace up their pedigree to the noblest families in Spain; though many are possessed of ample fortunes, yet, by the enervating influence of a sultry climate, by the

e) Recopil. lib. ix, tit. xxvi. l. 15, 16.

f) See NOTE L.

the rigour of a jealous government, and by their despair of attaining that distinction to which mankind naturally aspire, the vigour of their minds is so entirely broken, that a great part of them waste life in luxurious indulgencies, mingled with an illiberal superstition still more debasing. Languid and unenterprising, the operations of an active extended commerce would be to them so cumbersome and oppressive, that in almost every part of America they decline engaging in it. The interior traffick of every colony, as well as its trade with the neighbouring provinces, and with Spain itself, are carried on chiefly by the Chapetones; g) who, as the recompence of their industry, amass immense wealth, while the Creoles, sunk in sloth, are satisfied with the revenues of their paternal estates.

Rivalship between these.

From this stated competition for power and wealth between those two orders of citizens, and the various passions excited by a rivalship so interesting, their hatred is violent and implacable. On every occasion, symptoms of this aversion break out, and the common appellations which each bestows on the other, are as contemptuous as those which flow from the most deep-rooted national antipathy. h) The

g) Voy. de Ulloa, i. 27. 251. Voy. de Frezier, 227.

h) Gage's Survey. p. 9. Frezier, 226.

court of Spain, from a refinement of distrustful policy, cherishes those seeds of discord, and foment this mutual jealousy which not only prevents the two most powerful classes of its subjects in the New World from combining against the parent state, but prompts each, with the most vigilant zeal, to observe the motions and to counteract the schemes of the other.

A mixed race forms the third order of citizens.

The third class of inhabitants in the Spanish colonies is a mixed race, the offspring either of an European and a negro, or of an European and Indian, the former called Mulattoes, the latter Mestizos. As the court of Spain, solicitous, to incorporate its new vassals with its ancient subjects, early encouraged the Spaniards settled in America to marry the natives of that country, several alliances of this kind were formed in their infant colonies. i) But it has been more owing to licentious indulgence, than to compliance with this injunction of their sovereigns, that this mixed breed has multiplied so greatly, as to constitute a considerable part of the population in all the Spanish settlements. The several stages of descent in this race, and the gradual variations of shade until the African black, or the copper colour of America, brighten into an European complexion, are accurately

i) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 2. Herrera, dec. I. lib. v. c. 12. dec. 3. lib. vii. c. 2.

marked by the Spaniards, and each distinguished by a peculiar name. Those of the first and second generations are considered, and treated as Indians and Negroes; but in the third descent, the characteristic hue of the former disappears; and in the fifth, the deeper tint of the latter is so entirely effaced, that they can no longer be distinguished from Europeans, and become entitled to all their privileges. k) It is chiefly by this mixed race, whose frame is remarkably robust and hardy, that the mechanic arts are carried on, and other active functions in society are discharged, which the two higher classes of citizens, from pride, or from indolence, disdain to exercise. l)

Negroes form the fourth order.

The negroes hold the fourth rank among the inhabitants of the Spanish colonies. The introduction of that unhappy part of the human species into America, together with their services and sufferings there, shall be fully explained in another place; here they are mentioned chiefly, in order to point out a peculiarity in their situation under the Spanish dominion. In several of their settlements, particularly in New Spain, negroes are chiefly employed in domestick service. They form a prin-

T^a 2

k) Voy. de Ulloa, i. p. 27.

l) Voy. de Ulloa, i. 29. Voy. de Bouguer, p. 104. Melendez, Tesoros Verdaderos, i. 354.

cipal part in the train of luxury, and are cherished and caressed by their superiors, to whose vanity and pleasures they are equally subservient. Their dress and appearance are hardly less splendid than that of their masters, whose manners they imitate, and whose passions they imbibe. m) Elevated by this distinction, they have assumed such a tone of superiority over the Indians, and treat them with such insolence and scorn, that antipathy between the two races has become implacable. Even in Peru where negroes seem to be more numerous, and are employed in field-work as well as domestick service, they maintain their ascendant over the Indians, and the mutual hatred of one to the other subsists with equal violence. The laws have industriously fomented this aversion, to which accident gave rise, and, by most rigorous injunctions, have endeavoured to prevent every intercourse that might form a bond of union between the two races. Thus, by an artful policy, the Spaniards derive strength from that circumstance in population which is the weakness of other European colonies, and have secured as associates and defenders, those very persons who elsewhere are objects of jealousy and terror. n)

m) Gage, p. 56. Voy. de Ulloa, i. 451.

n) Recopil. lib. vii. tit. v. l. 7. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. vii. c. 12. Frezier, 244.

The Indians form the last order of citizens.

The Indians form the last, and the most depressed order of men in the country, which belonged to their ancestors. I have already traced the progress of the Spanish ideas with respect to the condition and treatment of that people, and have mentioned the most important of their more early regulations, concerning a matter of so much consequence in the administration of their new dominions. But since the period to which I have brought down the history of America, the information and experience acquired during two centuries, have enabled the court of Spain to make such improvements in this part of its American system, that a short view of the present condition of the Indians may prove both curious and interesting.

Their present condition:

By the famous regulations of Charles V. in 1542, which have been so often mentioned, the high pretensions of the conquerors of the New World, who considered its inhabitants as slaves, to whose service they had acquired a full right of property, were finally abrogated. From that period, the Indians have been reputed freemen, and entitled to the privileges of subjects. When admitted into this rank, it was deemed just, that they should contribute towards the support and improvement of the

society which had adopted them as members. But as no considerable benefit could be expected from the voluntary efforts of men unacquainted with regular industry, and averse to labour, the court of Spain found it necessary to fix and secure, by proper regulations, what it thought reasonable to exact from them.

Tax imposed on them.

With this view, an annual tax was imposed upon every male, from the age of eighteen to fifty; and at the same time, the nature as well as the extent of the services which they might be required to perform, were ascertained with precision. This tribute varies in different provinces; but if we take that paid in New Spain as a medium, its annual amount is nearly four shillings a head; no exorbitant sum in countries where, as at the source of wealth, the value of money is extremely low. o) The right of levying it likewise varies. In America, every Indian is either an immediate vassal of the crown, or depends upon some subject to whom the district, in which he resides, has been granted for a limited time, under the denomination of an encomienda. In the former case, about three fourths of the tax is paid into the royal treasury; in the latter, the same proportion of it belongs to the holder of the grant. When Spain

o) See NOTE LI. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 42. Hackluyt, vol. iii. p. 461.

first took possession of America, the greater part of it was parcelled out among its conquerors, or those who first settled there, and but a small portion reserved for the crown. As those grants which were made for two lives only, p) reverted successively to the sovereign, he had it in his power either to diffuse his favours by grants to new proprietors, or to augment his own revenue by valuable annexations. q) Of these, the latter has been frequently chosen; the number of Indians now depending immediately on the crown, is much greater than in the first age after the conquest, and this branch of the royal revenue continues to extend.

The services demanded.

The benefit arising from the services of the Indians accrues either to the crown, or to the holder of the encomienda, according to the same rule observed in the payment of tribute. Those services however, which can now be legally exacted, are very different from the servile tasks originally imposed upon the Indians. The nature of the work which they must perform is defined, and an equitable recompence is granted for their labour. The stated services demanded of the Indians, may be divided into two bran-

p) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. viii. l. 48. Solorz. de Ind. jure, lib. ii. c. 16.

q) See NOTE LII.

ches. They are either employed in works of primary necessity, without which society cannot subsist comfortably, or are compelled to labour in the mines, from which the Spanish colonies derive their chief value and importance. In consequence of the former, they are obliged to assist in the culture of maize, and other grain of necessary consumption; in tending cattle; in erecting edifices of public utility; in building bridges; and in forming high roads; r) but they cannot be constrained to labour in raising vines, olives, and sugar-canes, or any species of cultivation, which has for its object the gratification of luxury, or commercial profit. s) In consequence of the latter, the Indians are compelled to undertake the more unpleasant task, of extracting ore from the bowels of the earth, and of refining it by successive processes, no less unwholesome than operose. t)

The mode of exacting these.

The mode of exacting both these services is the same, and is under regulations framed with a view of rendering it as little oppressive as possible to the Indians. They are called out alternately in divisions, termed *Mitas*, and no person can be compelled to go but in his turn.

r) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 19. Solorz. de Ind. Jure, ii. lib. i. c. 6, 7. 9.

s) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xiii. l. 8. Solorz. lib. i. c. 7. No. 41, &c.

t) See NOTE LIII.

In Peru, the number called out must not exceed the seventh part of the inhabitants in any district. u) In New Spain, where the Indians are more numerous, it is fixed at four in the hundred. w) During what time the labour of those Indians, who are employed in agriculture, continues, I have not been able to learn. x) But in Peru, each Mita, or division, destined for the mines, remains there six months; and while engaged in this service, a labourer never receives less than two shillings a day, and often earns more than double that sum. y) No Indian, residing at a greater distance than thirty miles from a mine, is included in the Mita, or division employed in working it; z) nor are the inhabitants of the low country exposed to certain destruction, by compelling them to remove from that warm climate, to the cold elevated regions where minerals abound. a)

How governed.

The Indians who live in the principal towns, are entirely subject to the Spanish laws and magistrates; but in their own villages, they are governed by Caziques, some of whom are the descendants of their ancient lords, others are

u) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 21.

w) Recopil. lib. vi. l. 22.

x) See NOTE LIV.

y) Ulloa Entretien. 265, 266.

z) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. xii. l. 3.

a) Ibid. l. 29. and tit. i. l. 13. See NOTE LV.

named by the Spanish viceroys. These regulate the petty affairs of the people under them, according to maxims of justice, transmitted to them by tradition from their ancestors. To the Indians, this jurisdiction, lodged in such friendly hands, affords some consolation; and so little formidable is this dignity to their new masters, that they often allow it to descend by hereditary right. b) For the farther relief of men so much exposed to oppression, the Spanish court has appointed an officer in every district, with the title of Protector of the Indians. It is his function, as the name implies, to assert the rights of the Indians; to appear as their defender in the courts of justice; and, by the interposition of his authority, to set bounds to the encroachments and exactions of his countrymen. c) A certain portion of the reserved fourth of the annual tribute, is destined for the salary of the caziques and protectors; another is applied to the maintenance of the clergy employed in the instruction of the Indians. d) Another part seems to be appropriated for the benefit of the Indians themselves, and is applied for the payment of their tribute in years of famine or when a particular district is affected by any extraordinary calamity. e) Besides this, provision is

b) Solorz. de Jure Ind. lib. i. c. 26. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. vii.

c) Solorz. lib. i. c. 27. p. 201. Recop. lib. vi. tit. vi.

d) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. v. l. 30. tit. xvi. l. 12-15.

e) Ibid. lib. vi. tit. iv. l. 13.

made by various laws, that hospitals shall be founded in every new settlement for the reception of Indians. f) Such hospitals have accordingly been erected, both for the indigent and infirm in Lima, in Cuzco and in Mexico, where the Indians are treated with tenderness and humanity. g)

Such are the leading principles in the jurisprudence and policy by which the Indians are now governed in the provinces belonging to Spain. In those regulations of the Spanish monarchs, we discover no traces of that cruel system of extermination, which they have been charged with adopting; and if we admit, that the necessity of securing subsistence for their colonies, or the advantages derived from working the mines, give them a right to avail themselves of the labour of the Indians, we must allow, that the attention with which they regulate and recompense that labour, is provident and sagacious. In no code of laws is greater solicitude displayed, or precautions multiplied with more concern for the preservation, the security, and the happiness of the subject, than we discover in the collection of the Spanish laws for the Indies. But those later regulations, like the more early edicts which have been already mentioned, have to often proved

f) Recopil. lib. 1. tit. iv. l. 1, &c.

g) Voy. de Ulloa, l. 429. 509. Churchill, iv. 496.

ineffectual remedies against the evils which they were intended to prevent. In every age, if the same causes continue to operate, the same effects must follow. From the immense distance between the power entrusted with the execution of laws, and that by whose authority they are enacted, the vigour even of the most absolute government must relax, and the dread of a superior, too remote to observe with accuracy, or to punish with dispatch, must insensibly abate. Notwithstanding the numerous injunctions of the Spanish monarchs, the Indians still suffer, on many occasions, both from the avarice of individuals, and from the exactions of the magistrates, who ought to have protected them; unreasonable tasks are imposed; the term of their labour is prolonged, and they groan under all the insults and wrongs which are the lot of a dependent people. h) From some information on which I can depend, such oppression abounds more in Peru, than in any other colony. But it is not general. According to the accounts, even of those authors who are most disposed to exaggerate the sufferings of the Indians, they, in several provinces, enjoy not only ease, but affluence; they possess large farms; they are masters of numerous herds and flocks; and, by the knowledge which they have acquired of European arts and industry,

h) See NOTE LVI.



are supplied not only with the necessaries, but with many luxuries of life. i)

Ecclesiastical constitution of the colonies.

After explaining the form of civil government in the Spanish colonies, and the state of the various orders of persons subject to it, the peculiarities in their ecclesiastical constitution merit consideration. Notwithstanding the superstitious veneration with which the Spaniards are devoted to the Holy See, the vigilant and jealous policy of Ferdinand early prompted him to take precautions against the introduction of the papal dominion into America.

Restraints on the papal jurisdiction.

With this view, he solicited Alexander VI. for a grant of the tythes in all the newly-discovered countries, k) which he obtained on condition of his making provision for the religious instruction of the natives. Soon after, Julius II. conferred on him the right of patronage, and absolute disposal of all the ecclesiastical benefices there. l) Both these pontiffs, unacquainted with the value of what he demanded, bestowed those donations with an inconsiderate liberality, which their successors have

i) Gage's Survey, p. 85. 90. 104. 119, &c.

k) Bulla Alex. VI. A. D. 1501, ap. Solorz. de Jure Ind. ii. p. 498.

l) Bulla Julii II, 1508, ap. Solorz, de Jure Ind, ii. 509.

often lamented, and wished to recal. In consequence of those grants, the Spanish monarchs have become, in effect, the heads of the American church. In them the administration of its revenues is invested. Their nomination of persons to supply vacant benefices is instantly confirmed by the pope. Thus, in all Spanish America, authority of every species centres in the crown. There no collision is known between spiritual and temporal jurisdiction. The king is the only superior, his name alone is heard, and no dependence upon any foreign power has been introduced. Papal bulls cannot be admitted into America, nor are they of any force there, until they have been previously examined, and approved of by the royal council of the Indies; m) and if any bull should be surreptitiously introduced, and circulated in America without obtaining that approbation, ecclesiastics are required not only to prevent it from taking effect, but to seize all the copies of it, and transmit them to the council of the Indies. n) To this limitation of the papal jurisdiction, equally singular, whether we consider the age and nation in which it was devised, or the jealous attention with which Ferdinand, and his successors, have studied to maintain it in full

m) Recopil. lib. i. tit. ix. l. 2. and Autos del Consejo de las Indias, clxi.

n) Ibid. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 55.

force, o) Spain is indebted, in a great measure, for the uniform tranquillity which has reigned in her American dominions.

Form and endowments of the church in the Spanish colonies.

The hierarchy is established in America in the same form as in Spain, with its full train of archbishops, bishops, deans, and other dignitaries. The inferior clergy are divided into three classes, under the denomination of Curas, Doctrineros, and Misioneros. The first are parish-priests in those parts of the country where the Spaniards have settled. The second have the charge of such districts as are inhabited by Indians subjected to the Spanish government, and living under its protection. The third are employed in converting and instructing those fiercer tribes, which disdain submission to the Spanish yoke, and live in remote or inaccessible regions, to which the Spanish arms have not penetrated. So numerous are the ecclesiastics of all those various orders, and such the profuse liberality with which many of them are endowed, that the revenues of the church in America are immense. The superstition of Rome appears with its utmost pomp in the New World. Churches and convents there are magnificent, and richly adorned; and on high festivals, the display of gold and silver,

o) Recop. lib. 1. tit. vii. l. 55. *passim*.

and precious stones, is such as exceeds the conception of an European. p) An ecclesiastical establishment so splendid and expensive, is unfavourable, as has been formerly observed, to the progress of rising colonies; but in countries where riches abound, and the people are so delighted with parade, that religion must assume it, in order to attract their veneration, this propensity to ostentation has been indulged, and becomes less pernicious.

Pernicious effects of monastick institutions.

The early institution of monasteries in the Spanish colonies, and the inconsiderate zeal in multiplying them, have been attended with consequences more fatal. In every new settlement, the first object is to encourage population, and to incite every citizen to contribute towards augmenting the strength and number of the community. During the youth and vigour of society, while there is room to spread, and sustenance is procured with facility, mankind increase with amazing rapidity. But the Spaniards had hardly taken possession of America, when, with a most preposterous policy, they began to erect convents, where persons of both sexes were shut up, under a vow to defeat the purpose of nature, and to counteract the first
of

p) Voy. de Ulloa, i. 42.

of her laws. Influenced by a misguided piety, which ascribes transcendent merit to a state of celibacy, or allured by the prospect of that listless ease, which, in sultry climates, is deemed supreme felicity, numbers crowd into those mansions of sloth and superstition, and are lost to society. As none but persons of Spanish extract are admitted into the monasteries of the New World, the evil is more sensibly felt, and every monk or nun may be considered as an active person withdrawn from civil life. The impropriety of such foundations in any situation where the extent of territory requires additional hands to improve it, is so obvious, that some catholick states have expressly prohibited any person in their colonies from taking the monastick vows. q) Even the Spanish monarchs, on some occasions, seem to have been alarmed with the spreading of a spirit so adverse to the increase and prosperity of their colonies, that they have endeavoured to check it. r) But the Spaniards in America, more thoroughly under the influence of superstition than their countrymen in Europe, and directed by ecclesiasticks more bigoted and illiterate, have conceived such an high opinion of monastick sanctity, that no regulations can restrain their zeal,

q) Voy. de Ulloa, ii. 124.

r) Herrera, dec. v. lib. ix. c. 1. 2. Recop. lib. i. tit. iii. l. 1, 2. tit. iv. l. 2. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23.

and, by the excess of their ill judged bounty, religious houses have multiplied to a degree no less amazing than pernicious to society. s)

Character of ecclesiasticks in Spanish America;

In viewing the state of colonies, where not only the number but influence of ecclesiasticks is so great, the character of this powerful body is an object that merits particular attention. A considerable part of the secular clergy in Mexico and Peru are natives of Spain. As persons accustomed, by their education, to the retirement and indolence of academick life, are more incapable of active enterprize, and less disposed to strike into new paths, than any order of men, the ecclesiastical adventurers by whom the American church is recruited, are commonly such as, from merit or rank in life, have little prospect of success in their own country.

of the seculars ;

Accordingly, the secular priests in the New World are still less distinguished than their brethren in Spain, for literary accomplishments of any species; and though, by the ample provision which has been made for the American church, many of its members enjoy the ease and independence which are favourable to the

s) See NOTE XLVII.

cultivation of science, the body of secular clergy has hardly, during two centuries and a half, produced one author whose works convey such useful information, or possess such a degree of merit, as to be ranked among those which attract the attention of enlightened nations.

of the regulars,

But the greatest part of the ecclesiasticks in the Spanish settlements are regulars. On the discovery of America, a new field opened to the pious zeal of the monastick orders; and, with a becoming alacrity, they immediately sent forth missionaries to labour in it. The first attempt to instruct and convert the Americans, was made by monks; and, as soon as the conquest of any province was completed, and its ecclesiastical establishment began to assume some form, the popes permitted the missionaries of the four mendicant orders, as a reward for their services, to accept of parochial charges in America, to perform all spiritual functions, and to receive the tythes, and other emoluments of the benefice, without depending on the jurisdiction of the bishop of the diocese, or being subject to his censures. In consequence of this, a new career of usefulness, as well as new objects of ambition, presented themselves. Whenever a call is made for a fresh supply of missionaries, men of the most ardent and aspir-

ing minds, impatient under the restraint of a cloister, weary of its insipid uniformity, and fatigued with the irksome repetition of its frivolous functions, offer their service with eagerness, and repair to the New World in quest of liberty and distinction. Nor do they pursue distinction without success. The highest ecclesiastical honours, as well as the most lucrative preferments in Mexico and Peru, are often in the hands of regulars; and it is chiefly to the monastick orders that the Americans are indebted for any portion of science which is cultivated among them. They are almost the only Spanish ecclesiasticks, from whom we have received any accounts, either of the civil or natural history of the various provinces in America. Some of them, though deeply tinged with the indelible superstition of their profession, have published books which give a favourable idea of their abilities. The natural and moral history of the New World, by the Jesuit Acoſta, contains more accurate observations, perhaps, and more sound science, than are to be found in any description of remote countries published in the sixteenth century.

Dissolute manners of some of them.

But the same disgust with monastick life, to which America is indebted for some instructors of worth and abilities, filled it with others of a very-different character. The giddy, the

profligate, the avaricious, to whom the poverty and rigid discipline of a convent are intolerable, consider a mission to America as a release from mortification and bondage. There they soon obtain some parochial charge, and far removed, by their situation, from the inspection of their monastick superiors, and exempt, by their character, from the jurisdiction of their diocesan, u) they are hardly subject to any controul. According to the testimony of the most zealous catholicks, many of the regular clergy in the Spanish settlements are not only destitute of the virtues becoming their profession, but regardless of that external decorum and respect for the opinion of mankind, which preserve a semblance of worth, where the reality is wanting. Secure of impunity, some regulars, in contempt of their vow of poverty, engage openly in commerce; and are so rapaciously eager in amassing wealth, that they become the most grievous oppressors of the Indians, whom it was their duty to have protected. Others, with no less flagrant violation of their vow of chastity, indulge with little disguise in the most dissolute licentiousness x).

Various schemes have been proposed for redressing enormities so manifest and offensive. Several persons, no less eminent for piety than

u) Avendano Thef. Indic. ii. 253.

x) See NOTE LVIII.

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discernment, have contended, that the regulars, in conformity to the canons of the church, ought to be confined within the walls of their cloisters, and should no longer be permitted to encroach on the functions of the secular clergy. Some public-spirited magistrates, from conviction of its being necessary to deprive the regulars of a privilege, bestowed at first with good intention, but of which time and experience had discovered the pernicious effects, openly countenanced the secular clergy in their attempts to assert their own rights. The prince D'Esquilache, viceroy of Peru under Philip. III. (1618.) took measures so decisive and effectual for circumscribing the regulars within their proper sphere, as struck them with general consternation. y) They had recourse to their usual arts. They alarmed the superstitious, by representing the proceedings of the viceroy as innovations fatal to religion. They employed all the refinements of intrigue, in order to gain persons in power; and seconded by the powerful influence of the Jesuits, who claimed and enjoyed all the privileges which belonged to the Mendicant orders in America, they made a deep impression on a bigoted prince, and a weak ministry. The ancient practice was tolerated. The abuses which it occasioned continued to increase, and the corruption of monks, exempt

y) See NOTE LIX.

from the restraints of discipline, and the inspection of any superior, became a disgrace to religion. At last, as the veneration of the Spaniards for the monastick orders began to abate, and the power of the Jesuits was on the decline, Ferdinand VI. ventured to apply the only effectual remedy by issuing an edict, (June 23. 1757.) prohibiting Regulars of every denomination from taking the charge of any parish with the cure of souls; and declaring, that on the demise of the present incumbents, none but secular priests, subject to the jurisdiction of their diocesans, shall be presented to vacant benefices. 2) If this regulation is carried into execution with steadiness in any degree proportional to the wisdom with which it is framed, a very considerable reformation may take place in the ecclesiastical state of Spanish America, and the secular clergy may gradually become a respectable body of men. The deportment of many ecclesiasticks, even at present, seems to be decent and exemplary, otherwise we can hardly suppose that they would be held in such high estimation, and possess such a wonderful ascendant over the minds of their countrymen throughout all the Spanish settlements.

Small progress in converting the Indians to Christianity.

But whatever merit the Spanish ecclesiasticks in America may possess, the success of their

2) Real Cedula MS. penes me.

endeavours in communicating the knowledge of true religion to the Indians, has been more imperfect than might have been expected, either from the degree of their zeal, or from the dominion which they had acquired over that people. For this, various reasons may be assigned. The first missionaries, in their ardour to make profelytes, admitted the people of America into the christian church, without previous instruction in the doctrines of religion, and even before they themselves had acquired such knowledge of the Indian language, as to be able to explain to the natives mysteries of faith, or the precepts of duty. Resting upon a subtle distinction in scholastick theology, between that degree of assent which is founded on a complete knowledge and conviction of duty, and that which may be yielded when both these are imperfect, they adopted this strange practice, no less inconsistent with the spirit of a religion which addresses itself to the understanding of men, than repugnant to the dictates of reason. As soon as any body of people, overawed by dread of the Spanish power, moved by the example of their own chiefs, incited by levity, or yielding from mere ignorance, expressed the slightest desire of embracing the religion of their conquerors, they were instantly baptized. While this rage of conversion continued, a single clergyman baptized in one day above five thousand Mexicans, and did not desist until he was exhausted by

fatigue, that he was unable to lift his hand. a) In the course of a few years, after the reduction of the Mexican empire, the sacrament of baptism was administered to more than four millions. b) Profelytes adopted with such inconsiderate haste, and who were neither instructed in the nature of the tenets to which it was supposed they had given assent, nor taught the absurdity of those which they were required to relinquish, retained their veneration for their ancient superstitions in full force, or mingled an attachment to its doctrines and rites with that slender knowledge of Christianity which they acquired. These sentiments the new converts transmitted to their posterity, into whose minds they have sunk so deep, that the Spanish ecclesiasticks, with all their industry, have not been able to eradicate them. The religious institutions of their ancestors are still remembered, and held in honour by the Indians, both in Mexico and Peru, and whenever they think themselves out of reach of inspection by the Spaniards, they assemble and celebrate their idolatrous rites. c)

But this is not the most unsurmountable obstacle to the progress of Christianity among the Indians. The powers of their uncultivated un-

a) P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. Mond. Ind. lib. xvi. c. 6.

b) P. Torribio, MS. Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 8.

c) Voy. de Ulloa, f. 341. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 23. lib. xvi. c. 28. Gage, 171.

derstandings are so limited, their observations and reflections reach so little beyond the mere objects of sense, that they seem hardly to have the capacity of forming abstract ideas, and possess not language to express them. To such men, the sublime and spiritual doctrines of Christianity must be incomprehensible. The numerous and splendid ceremonies of the popish worship catch the eye, please and interest them; but when their instructors attempt to explain the articles of faith, with which those external observances are connected, though the Indians may listen with patience, they so little conceive the meaning of what they hear, that their acquiescence does not merit the name of belief. Their indifference is still greater than their incapacity. Attentive only to the present moment, and ingrossed by the objects before them, the Indians seldom reflect upon what is past, or take thought for what is to come, that neither the promises, nor threats of religion, make much impression upon them; and while their foresight rarely extends so far as the next day, it is almost impossible to inspire them with solicitude about the concerns of a future world. Astonished equally at their slowness of comprehension, and at their insensibility, some of the early missionaries pronounced them a race of men so brutish, as to be incapable of understanding the first principles of religion. A council held at Lima decreed, that,

on account of this incapacity, they ought to be excluded from the sacrament of the Eucharist. d) And though Paul III. by his famous bull, issued in the year 1537, declared them to be rational creatures, entitled to all the privileges of Christians; e) yet, after the lapse of two centuries, during which they have been members of the church, so imperfect are their attainments in knowledge, that very few possess such a portion of spiritual discernment, as to be deemed worthy of being admitted to the holy communion. f) From this idea of their incapacity and imperfect knowledge of religion, when the zeal of Philip II. established the inquisition in America in the year 1570, the Indians were exempted from the jurisdiction of that severe tribunal, g) and still continue under the inspection of their diocesans. Even after the most perfect instruction, their faith is held to be feeble and dubious, and though some of them have been taught the learned languages, and have gone through the ordinary course of academick education with applause, their frailty is still so much suspected, that no Indian is either ordained a priest, or received into any religious order. h)

d) Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 20.

e) Torquem. lib. xvi. c. 25. Garcia origin. 311.

f) Voy. de Ulloa, i. 343.

g) Recopil. lib. vi. tit. i. l. 35.

h) Torquem. lib. xvii c. 13. See NOTE LX.

Productions of the Spanish colonies.

From this brief survey, some idea may be formed of the interior state of the Spanish colonies. The various productions with which they supply and enrich the mother-country, and the system of commercial intercourse between them, come next in order to be explained. If the dominions of Spain in the New World had been of such moderate extent, as bore a due proportion to the parent state, the progress of her colonizing might have been attended with the same benefit as that of other nations. But when, in less than half a century, her inconsiderate rapacity had seized on countries larger than all Europe, her inability to fill such vast regions with a number of inhabitants sufficient for the cultivation of them, was so obvious, as to give a wrong direction to all the efforts of the colonists. They did not form compact settlements, where industry, circumscribed within proper limits, both in its views and operations, is conducted with that sober persevering spirit, which gradually converts whatever is in its possession to a proper use, and derives thence the greatest advantage. Instead of this, the Spaniards, seduced by the boundless prospect which opened to them, divided their possessions in America into governments of vast extent. As their number was too small to attempt the regular culture of the

immense provinces, which they occupied rather than peopled, they bent their attention to a few objects, that allured them with hopes of sudden and exorbitant gain, and turned away with contempt from the humbler paths of industry, which lead more slowly, but with greater certainty, to wealth and increase of national strength.

From their mines.

Of all the methods by which riches may be acquired, that of searching for the precious metals is one of the most inviting to men, who are either unaccustomed to the regular assiduity with which the culture of the earth and the operations of commerce must be carried on, or so enterprising and rapacious as not to be satisfied with the gradual returns of profit which they yield. Accordingly, as soon as the several countries in America were subjected to the dominion of Spain, this was almost the only method of acquiring wealth which occurred to the adventurers, by whom they were conquered. Such provinces of the continent as did not allure them to settle, by the prospect to their affording gold and silver, were totally neglected. Those in which they met with a disappointment of the sanguine expectations they had formed, were abandoned. Even the value of the islands, the first fruits of their discoveries, and the first object of

their attention, sunk so much in their estimation, when the mines which had been opened in them were exhausted, that they were deserted by many of the planters, and left to be occupied by more industrious possessors. All crowded to Mexico and Peru, where the vast quantities of gold and silver found among the natives, who searched for them with little industry and less skill, promised an unexhausted store, as the recompence of more intelligent and persevering efforts.

Discovery of those of Potosi and Sacotecas.

During several years, the ardour of their researches was kept up by hope, rather than success. At length, the rich silver mines of Potosi, in Peru, were accidentally discovered in the year 1545, i) by an Indian, as he was clambering up the mountain, in pursuit, of a Llama which had strayed from his flock. Soon after the mines of Sacotecas, in New Spain, little inferior to the other in value, were opened. From that time, successive discoveries have been made in both colonies, and silver mines are now so numerous, that the working of them, and of some few mines of gold in the provinces of Tierra Firmè and the new kingdom of Granada, has become the capital occupation of the Spaniards, and is reduc-

i) Fernandez, p. i. lib. xi. c. II.

ed into a system no less complicated than interesting. To describe the nature of the various ores, the mode of extracting them from the bowels of the earth, and to explain the several processes by which the metals are separated from the substances with which they are mingled, either by the action of fire, or the attractive powers of mercury, is the province of the natural philosopher or chymist, rather than of the historian.

Riches which they yield.

The exuberant profusion with which the mountains of the New World poured forth their treasures, astonished mankind, accustomed hitherto to receive a penurious supply of the precious metals, from the more scanty stores contained in the mines of the ancient hemisphere. According to principles of computation, which appear to be extremely moderate, the quantity of gold and silver that has been regularly entered in the ports of Spain, is equal in value to four millions sterling annually, reckoning from the year 1492, in which America was discovered, to the present time. This, in two hundred and eighty-three years amounts to eleven hundred and thirty-two millions. Immense as this sum is, the Spanish writers contend, that as much more ought to be added to it, in consideration of the treasure which has been extracted from the mines, without

paying duty to the king. By this account, Spain has drawn from the New World a supply of wealth, amounting at least to two thousand millions of pounds sterling. k)

Spirit to which this gives rise.

The mines, which have yielded this amazing quantity of treasure, are not worked at the expence of the crown, or of the publick. In order to encourage private adventurers, the person who discovers a new vein, is entitled to the property of it. Upon laying his claim before the governor of the province, a certain extent of land is measured off, and a certain number of Indians allotted him, under the obligation of his opening the mine within a limited time, and of his paying the customary duty to the king, for what it shall produce. Invited by the facility with which such grants are obtained, and encouraged by some striking examples of success in this line of adventure; not only the sanguine and the bold, but the timid and diffident enter upon it with astonishing ardour. With vast objects always in view, fed continually with hope, and expecting every moment that fortune will unveil her secret stores, and give them up to their wishes, they deem every other occupation insipid and uninteresting. The charms of this pursuit, like
the

k) Uztariz Theor. y Pract. de Comercio, c. 3. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. xi. c. 15. See NOTE LXI.

the rage for deep play, are so bewitching, and take such full possession of the mind, as even to give a new bent to the natural temper. Under its influence, the cautious become enterprising, and the covetous profuse. Powerful as this charm naturally is, its force is augmented by the arts of an order of men known in Peru by the cant name of searchers. These are commonly persons of desperate fortunes, who, availing themselves of some skill in mineralogy, accompanied with the insinuating manner, and confident pretensions peculiar to projectors, address the wealthy and the credulous. By plausible descriptions of rich veins hitherto unexplored; by producing when requisite, specimens of promising ore; by affirming, with an imposing assurance, that success is certain, and that the expence must be trifling, they seldom fail to persuade. An association is formed; a small sum is advanced by each co-partner; the mine is opened; the searcher is entrusted with the sole direction of every operation; unforeseen difficulties occur; new demands of money are made; but, amidst a succession of disappointments and delays, hope is never extinguished, and the ardour of expectation hardly abates. For it is observed, that if any person once enter this seducing path, it is almost impossible to return; his ideas alter, he seems to be possessed with another spirit, visions of imaginary wealth are continually be-

fore his eyes, and he thinks, and speaks, and dreams of nothing else. 1)

Fatal effects of it.

Such is the spirit that must be formed, wherever the active exertions of any society are chiefly employed in working mines of gold and silver. No spirit is more adverse to such improvement in agriculture and commerce, as render a nation really opulent. If the system of administration in the Spanish colonies had been founded upon principles of sound policy, the power and ingenuity of the legislature would have been exerted with as much ardour, in restraining its subjects from such pernicious industry, as is now employed in alluring them towards it. „Projects of mining “(says a good judge of the political conduct of nations) „ instead of replacing the capital employed in „ them, together with the ordinary profit of „ stocks, commonly absorb both capital and „ profit. They are the projects, therefore, to „ which, of all others, a prudent lawgiver, „ who desired to increase the capital of his „ nation, would least chuse to give any extraordinary encouragement, or to turn towards them a greater share of that capital „ than would go to them of its own accord. „ Such, in reality, is the absurd confidence „ which all men have in their own good for-

1) Ulloa Entretien. p. 223.

„ tune, that wherever there is the least probability of success, too great a share of it „ is apt to go to them of its own accord. “m) But in the Spanish colonies, government is studious to cherish a spirit which it should have laboured to depress, and, by the sanction of its approbation, augments that inconsiderate credulity, which has turned the active industry of Mexico and Peru into such an improper channel. To this may be imputed the slender progress which Spanish America has made during two centuries and a half, either in useful manufactures, or in those lucrative branches of cultivation, which furnish the colonies of other nations with their staple commodities. In comparison with the precious metals, every bounty of nature is so much despised, that this extravagant idea of their value has mingled with the idiom of language in America, and the Spaniards settled there denominate a country, rich, not from the fertility of its soil, the abundance of its crops, or the exuberance of its pastures, but on account of the minerals which its mountains contain. In quest of these, they abandon the delightful plains of Peru and Mexico, and resort to barren and uncomfortable regions, where they have built some of the largest towns which they possess in the New World. As the activity and enterprise of the Spaniards ori-

m) Dr. Smith's Inquiry, &c. ii. 155.

ginally took this direction, it is now so difficult to bend them a different way, that although, from various causes, the gain of working mines is much decreased; the fascination continues, and almost every person, who takes any active part in the commerce of new Spain or Peru, is still engaged in some adventure of this kind. n)

Other commodities of the Spanish colonies.

But though mines are the chief object of the Spaniards, and the precious metals which these yield, form the principal article in their commerce with America; the fertile countries which they possess there, abound with other commodities of such value or scarcity, as to attract a considerable degree of attention. Cochineal is a production almost peculiar to New Spain, of such demand in commerce, that the sale is always certain, and it yields such profit, as amply rewards the labour and care employed in rearing the curious insects of which this valuable drug is composed, and preparing it for the market. Quinquina, or Jesuits Bark, the most salutary simple, perhaps, and of most restorative virtue, that Providence, in compassion for human infirmity, has made known unto man, is found only in Peru, to which it affords a lucrative branch of commerce. The indigo of Guatemala is superior in quality to

n) See NOTE LXII.

that of any province in America, and cultivated to a considerable extent. Cacao, though not peculiar to the Spanish colonies, attains to its highest state of perfection there, and from the great consumption of chocolate in Europe, as well as in America, is a valuable commodity. The Tobacco of Cuba, of more exquisite flavour than any brought from the New World; the sugar raised in that island, in Hispaniola, and in New Spain, together with drugs of various kinds, may be mentioned among the natural productions of America, which enrich the Spanish commerce. To these must be added, an article of no inconsiderable account, the exportation of hides; for which, as well as for many of those which I have enumerated, the Spaniards are more indebted to the wonderful fertility of the country than to their own foresight and industry. The domestick animals of Europe, particularly horned cattle, have multiplied in the New World with a rapidity which almost exceeds belief. A few years after the Spaniards settled there, the herds of tame cattle became so numerous, that their proprietors reckoned them by thousands. o) Less attention being paid to them, as they continued to increase, they were suffered to run wild, and spreading over a country of boundless extent; under a mild climate, and covered with rich pasture, their number became im-

o) Oyiedo ap. Ramus. iii. 101, B. Hackluyt, iii. 466. 511.

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menſe. They range over the vaſt plains which extend from Buenos - Ayres, towards the Andes, in herds of thirty or forty thouſand; and the unlucky traveller who once falls in among them, may proceed ſeveral days before he can diſentangle himſelf from among the crowd that covers the face of the earth, and ſeems to have no end. They are hardly leſs numerous in New Spain, and in ſeveral other provinces: theſe are killed merely for the ſake of their hides; and the ſlaughter at certain ſeaſons is ſo great, that the ſtench of the carcaſes, which are left in the field, would infect the air, if large packs of wild dogs, and vaſt flocks of gallinazos, or American vultures, the moſt voracious of all the feathered kind, did not inſtantly devour them. The number of theſe hides exported in every fleet to Europe is prodigious, and is a lucrative branch of commerce. p)

Almoſt all theſe may be conſidered as ſtaple commodities peculiar to America, and different, if we except that laſt mentioned, from the productions of the mother-country.

Advantages which Spain derives from her colonies.

When the importation into Spain of thoſe various articles from her colonies, firſt became active and conſiderable, her interior induſtry and

p) Acoſta, lib. iii. c. 33. Ovallo Hiſt. of Chili. Church. Col-
lect. iii. 47. ſeq. Ibid. v. p. 680. 699. Lettres Edif.
xiii. 235. Feuille, i. 249.

manufactures were in a state so prosperous, that with the product of these she was able both to purchase the commodities of the New World, and to answer its growing demands. Under the reigns of Ferdinand and Isabella and Charles V. Spain was one of the most industrious countries in Europe. Her manufactures in wool, and flax, and silk, were so extensive, as not only to furnish what was sufficient for her own consumption, but to afford a surplus for exportation. When a market for them, formerly unknown, and to which she alone had access, opened in America, she had recourse to her domestick store, and found there an abundant supply. q) This new employment must naturally have added vivacity to the spirit of industry. Nourished and invigorated by it, the manufactures, the population, and wealth of Spain might have gone on increasing in the same proportion with the growth of her colonies. Nor was the state of the Spanish marine at this period less flourishing than that of its manufactures. In the beginning of the sixteenth century, Spain is said to have possessed above a thousand merchant ships, r) a number probably far superior to that of any nation in Europe. By the aid which foreign trade and domestick industry give reciprocally to each other in their progress,

q) See NOTE LXIII.

r) Campomanes, ii. 140.

the augmentation of both must have been rapid and extensive, and Spain might have received the same accession of opulence and vigour from her acquisitions in the New World, that other powers have derived from their colonies there.

Why she does not now derive the same.

But various causes prevented this. The same thing happens to nations as to individuals. Wealth, which flows in gradually, and with moderate increase, feeds and nourishes that activity which is friendly to commerce, and calls it forth into vigorous and well-conducted exertions; but when opulence pours in suddenly, and with too full a stream, it overturns all sober plans of industry and brings along with it a taste for what is wild and extravagant, and daring in business or in action. Such was the great and sudden augmentation of power and revenue, that the possession of America brought into Spain, and some symptoms of its pernicious influence upon the political operations of that monarchy soon began to appear. For a considerable time, however, the supply of treasure from the New World was scanty and precarious, and the genius of Charles V. conducted publick measures with such prudence, that the effects of this influence were little perceived. But when Philip II. ascended the Spanish throne, with talents far inferior to those of his father, and remittances from the colonies became a re-

gular and vast branch of revenue, the fatal operation of this rapid change in the state of the kingdom, both on the monarch and his people, was at once conspicuous. Philip, possessing that spirit of unceasing assiduity, which often characterizes the ambition of men of moderate talents, entertained such an high opinion of his own resources, that he thought nothing too arduous for him to undertake. Shut up himself in the solitude of the Escorial, he troubled and annoyed all the nations around him. He waged open war with the Dutch and English; he encouraged and aided a rebellious faction in France; he conquered Portugal, and maintained armies and garrisons in Italy, Africa, and both the Indies. By such a multiplicity of great and complicated operations, pursued with ardour during the course of a long reign, Spain was drained both of men and money. Under the weak administration of his successor, Philip III. the vigour of the nation continued to decrease, and sunk into the lowest decline, when the inconsiderate bigotry of that monarch expelled at once near a million of his most industrious subjects, (A. D. 1611.) at the very time when the exhausted state of the kingdom required some extraordinary exertion of political wisdom to augment its numbers and to revive its strength. Early in the seventeenth century, Spain felt such a diminution in the number of her people, that from inability to recruit her armies, she was

obliged to contract her operations. Her flourishing manufactures were fallen into decay. Her fleets, which had been the terror of all Europe, were ruined. Her extensive foreign commerce was lost. The trade between different parts of her own dominions was interrupted, and the ships which attempted to carry it on, were taken and plundered by enemies whom she once despised. Even agriculture, the primary object of industry in every prosperous state, was neglected, and one of the most fertile countries in Europe hardly raised what was sufficient for the support of its own inhabitants.

Rapid decline of its trade,

In proportion as the population and manufactures of the parent state declined, the demands of her colonies continued to increase. The Spaniards, like their monarchs, intoxicated with the wealth which poured in annually upon them, deserted the paths of industry, to which they had been accustomed, and repaired with eagerness to those regions from which this opulence issued. By this rage of emigration, another drain was opened, and the strength of the colonies augmented by exhausting that of the mother-country. All those emigrants, as well as the adventurers who had at first settled in America, depended absolutely upon Spain for almost every article of necessary consumption. Engaged in more alluring and lucrative pursuits, or pre-

vented by restraints which government imposed, they could not turn their own attention towards establishing the manufactures requisite for comfortable subsistence. They received (as I have observed in another place) their clothing, their furniture, whatever ministers to the ease or luxury of life, and even their instruments of labour, from Europe. Spain, thinned of people, and void of industry, was unable to supply their increasing demands. She had recourse to her neighbours. The manufactures of the Low Countries, of England, of France, and of Italy, which her wants called into existence, or animated with new vivacity, furnished in abundance whatever she required. In vain did the fundamental law, concerning the exclusion of foreigners from trade with America, oppose this innovation. Necessity, more powerful than any statute, defeated its operations, and constrained the Spaniards themselves to concur in eluding it. The English, the French, and Dutch, relying on the fidelity and honour of Spanish merchants, who lend their names to cover the deceit, send out their manufactures to America, and receive the exorbitant price for which they are sold there, either in specie, or in the rich commodities of the New World. Neither the dread of danger, nor the allure-ment of profit, ever induced a Spanish factor to betray or defraud the person who confided in

him ; s) and that probity , which is the pride and distinction of the nation , contributes to its ruin. In a short time , not above a twentieth part of the commodities exported to America was of Spanish growth or fabrick. t) All the rest was the property of foreign merchants, though entered in the name of Spaniards. The treasure of the New World may be said henceforward not to have belonged to Spain. Before it reached Europe , it was anticipated as the price of goods purchased from foreigners. That wealth which , by an internal circulation , would have spread through each vein of industry , and have conveyed life and activity to every branch of manufacture , flowed out of the kingdom with such a rapid course , as neither enriched nor animated it. On the other hand , the artizans of rival nations , encouraged by this quick sale of their commodities , improved so much in skill and industry , as to be able to afford them at a rate so low , that the manufactures of Spain , which could not vie with theirs , either in quality or cheapness of work , were still farther depressed. This destructive commerce drained off the riches of the nation faster and more completely , than even the extravagant schemes of ambition carried on by its monarchs. Spain was so much astonished and distressed , at behold-

s) Zavala Representacion , p. 226.

t) Campomanes , ii. 138.

ing her American treasures vanish almost as soon as they were imported, that Philip III. unable to supply what was requisite in circulation, issued an edict, by which he endeavoured to raise copper money to a value in currency nearly equal to that of silver; u) and the lord of the Peruvian and Mexican mines was reduced to a wretched expedient, which is the last resource of petty impoverished states.

Thus the possessions of Spain in America have not proved a source of population and of wealth to her, in the same manner as those of other nations. In the countries of Europe, where the spirit of industry subsists in full vigour, every person settled in such colonies as are similar in their situation to those of Spain, is supposed to give employment to three or four at home in supplying his wants. x) But wherever the mother-country cannot afford this supply, every emigrant may be considered as a citizen lost to the community, and strangers must reap all the benefit of answering his demands.

increased by the mode of regulating its intercourse with America.

Such has been the internal state of Spain from the close of the sixteenth century, and such her inability to supply the growing wants of her colonies. The fatal effects of this disproportion

u) Uztariz, c. 104.

x) Child on trade and colonies,

between their demands, and her capacity of answering them, have been much increased by the mode in which Spain has endeavoured to regulate the intercourse between the mother-country and the colonies. It is from her idea of monopolizing the trade with America, and debarring her subjects there from any communication with foreigners, that all her jealous and systematick arrangements have arisen. These are so singular in their nature and consequences, as to merit a particular explanation. In order to secure the monopoly at which she aimed, Spain did not vest the trade with her colonies in an exclusive company, a plan which had been adopted by nations more commercial, and at a period when mercantile policy was an object of greater attention, and ought to have been better understood. The Dutch gave up the whole trade with their colonies, both in the East and West Indies, to exclusive companies. The English, the French, the Danes, have imitated their example with respect to the East Indian commerce; and the two former have laid a similar restraint upon some branches of their trade with the New World. The wit of man cannot, perhaps, devise a method for checking the progress of industry and population in a new colony more effectual than this. The interest of the colony, and of the exclusive company, must in every point be diametrically opposite; and as the latter possesses such advan-

tages in this unequal contest, that it can prescribe at pleasure the terms of intercourse, the former must not only buy dear and sell cheap, but must suffer the mortification of having the increase of its surplus stock discouraged by those very persons to whom alone it can dispose of its productions. y)

This confined to one port in Spain.

Spain, it is probable, was preserved from falling into this error in policy, by the high ideas which she early formed concerning the riches of the New World. Gold and silver were commodities of too high value to vest a monopoly of them in private hands. The crown wished to retain the direction of a commerce so inviting; and, in order to secure that, ordained the cargo of every ship fitted out for America, to be inspected by the officers of the Casa de Contratacion in Seville, before it could receive a licence to make the voyage; and that on its return, a report of the commodities which it brought should be made to the same board, before it could be permitted to land them. In consequence of this regulation, all the trade of Spain with the New World centred in the port of Seville, and was gradually brought into a form, in which it has been conducted, with little variation, from the middle of the sixteenth

y) Smith's Inquiry, li. 374.

century almost to our own times. For the greater security of the valuable cargoes sent to America, as well as for the more easy prevention of fraud, the commerce of Spain, with its colonies, is carried on by fleets which sail under strong convoys. These fleets consisting of two squadrons, one distinguished by the name of Galeons, the other by that of the Flota, are equipped annually. Formerly they took their departure from Seville; but, as the port of Cadiz has been found more commodious, they have sailed from it since the year 1720.

Carried on by the Galeons.

The Galeons destined to supply Tierra Firme, and the kingdoms of Peru and Chili, with almost every article of luxury, or necessary consumption, that an opulent people can demand, touch first at Carthagena, and then at Porto bello. To the former, the merchants of Santa Martha, Caraccas, the New Kingdom of Granada, and several other provinces, resort. The latter is the great mart for the rich commerce of Peru and Chili. At the season when the Galeons are expected, the product of all the mines in these two kingdoms, together with their other valuable commodities, is transported by sea to Panama. From thence, as soon as the appearance of the fleet from Europe is announced, they are conveyed across the isthmus, partly on mules, and partly down the river Chagre
to

to Porto bello. This paltry village, whose climate, from the pernicious union of excessive heat, continual moisture, and the putrid exhalations arising from a rank soil, is more fatal to life than any perhaps in the known world, is immediately filled with people. From being the residence of a few negroes and mulattoes, and of a miserable garrison relieved every three months, its streets are crowded with opulent merchants from every corner of Peru, and the adjacent provinces. A fair is opened, the wealth of America is exchanged for the manufactures of Europe; and, during its prescribed term of forty days, the richest traffick on the face of the earth is begun and finished, with that simplicity of transaction and unbounded confidence, which accompany extensive commerce. z)

and the Flota.

The Flota holds its course to Vera Cruz. The treasures and commodities of New Spain, and the depending provinces, which were deposited at Puebla de los Angeles in expectation of its arrival, are carried thither, and the commercial operations of Vera Cruz, conducted in the same manner with those of Porto bello, are inferior to them only in importance and value. Both fleets, as soon as they have completed their cargoes from America, rendezvous at the Havanna, and return in company to Europe.

z) See NOTE LXIV.

Bad effects of this arrangement.

The trade of Spain with her colonies, while thus fettered and restricted, came necessarily to be conducted with the same spirit, and upon the same principles, as that of an exclusive company. Being confined to a single port, it was of course thrown into a few hands, and almost the whole of it was gradually engrossed by a small number of wealthy houses, [formerly in Seville, and now in Cadiz. These by combinations, which they can easily form, may altogether prevent that competition which preserves commodities at their natural price; and by acting in concert, to which they are prompted by their mutual interest, they may raise or lower the value of them at pleasure. In consequence of this, the price of European goods in America is always high, and often exorbitant. A hundred, two hundred, and even three hundred per cent, are profits not uncommon in the commerce of Spain with her colonies. a) From the same ingrossing spirit it frequently happens, that traders of the second order, whose warehouses do not contain a complete assortment of commodities for the American market, cannot purchase from the more opulent merchants, such goods as they want, at a lower price than that for which they are sold in the colonies. With the same vigilant

a) B. Ulloa Retabliss. part. ii. p. 191.

jealousy that an exclusive company guards against the intrusion of the free trader, those overgrown monopolists endeavour to check the progress of every one whose encroachments they dread. b) This restraint of the American commerce to one port, not only affects its domestic state, but limits its foreign operations. A monopolist may acquire more, and certainly will hazard less, by a confined trade which yields exorbitant profit, than by an extensive commerce in which he receives only a moderate return of gain. It is often his interest not to enlarge, but to circumscribe the sphere of his activity; and, instead of calling forth more vigorous exertions of commercial industry, it may be the object of his attention to check and set bounds to them. By some such maxim, the mercantile policy of Spain seems to have regulated its intercourse with America. Instead of furnishing the colonies with European goods in such quantity as might render both the price and the profit moderate; the merchants of Seville and Cadiz seem to have supplied them with a sparing hand, that the eagerness of competition, amongst customers obliged to purchase in a scanty market, might enable their factors to dispose of their cargoes with exorbitant gain. About the middle of the last century, when the

Y 2

b) Smith's Inquiry, II. 171. Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 438.

exclusive trade to America from Seville was in its most flourishing state, the burden of the two united squadrons of the Galeons and Flota, did not exceed twenty-seven thousand five hundred tons. c) The supply which such a fleet could carry, must have been very inadequate to the demands of those populous and extensive colonies; which depended upon it for all the luxuries, and many of the necessaries of life.

Remedies proposed.

Spain early became sensible of her declension from her former prosperity, and many respectable and virtuous citizens employed their thoughts in devising methods for reviving the decaying industry and commerce of their country. From the violence of the remedies proposed, we may judge how desperate and fatal the malady appeared. Some, confounding a violation of police with criminality against the state, contended, that in order to check illicit commerce, every person convicted of carrying it on, should be punished with death, and confiscation of all his effects. d) Others, forgetting the distinction between civil offences and acts of impiety, insisted, that contraband trade should be ranked among the crimes reserved for

c) Campomanes, Educ. Popul. i. 435. ii. 110.

d) M. de Santa Cruz Comercia Suelto, p. 142.

the cognizance of the Inquisition; that such as were guilty of it might be tried and punished, according to the secret and summary form in which that dreadful tribunal exercises its jurisdiction. e) Others, uninstructed by observing the pernicious effects of monopolies in every country where they have been established, have proposed to vest the trade with America in exclusive companies, which interest would render the most vigilant guardians of the Spanish commerce against the incroachment of the interlopers. f)

Beside these wild projects, many schemes, better digested and more beneficial, were suggested. But under the feeble monarchs, with whom the reign of the Austrian line in Spain closed, incapacity and indecision are conspicuous in every department of government. Instead of taking for their model the active administration of Charles V. they affected to imitate the cautious procrastinating wisdom of Philip II. and destitute of his talents, they deliberated perpetually, but determined nothing. No remedy was applied to the evils under which the national commerce, domestick as well as foreign, languished. These evils continued to increase, and Spain, with dominions more extensive and more opulent than any European

e) Moncada Restauracion politica de Espagna, p. 41.

f) Zavalla y Augnon Representacion, &c. p. 190.

state, possessed neither vigour, nor money, g) nor industry. At length, the violence of a great national convulsion roused the flumbering genius of Spain. The efforts of the two contending parties in the civil war, kindled by the dispute concerning the succession of the crown at the beginning of this century, called forth, in some degree, the ancient spirit and vigour of the nation. While men were thus forming, capable of adopting sentiments more liberal than those which had influenced the councils of the monarchy during the course of a century, Spain derived from an unexpected source the means of availing itself of their talents. The various powers who favoured the pretensions either of the Austrian or Bourbon candidate for the Spanish throne, sent formidable fleets and armies to their support; France, England, and Holland remitted immense sums to Spain. These were spent in the provinces which became the theatre of war. Part of the American treasure, of which foreigners had drained the kingdom, flowed back thither. From this æra, one of the most intelligent Spanish authors dates the revival of the monarchy; and, however humiliating the truth may be, he acknowledges, that it is to her enemies his country is indebted for the acquisition of a fund of circulating spe-

g) See NOTE LXV.

cie, in some measure adequate to the exigencies of the publick. i)

Step towards improvement by the Bourbon monarchs; by excluding foreigners from trade with Peru;

As soon as the Bourbons obtained quiet possession of the throne, they discerned this change in the spirit of the people, and in the state of the nation, and took advantage of it; for although that family has not given monarchs to Spain, remarkable for superiority of genius, they have all been beneficent princes, attentive to the happiness of their subjects; and solicitous to promote it. It was, accordingly, the first object of Philip V. to suppress an innovation which had crept in during the course of the war, and had overturned the whole system of the Spanish commerce with America. The English and Dutch, by their superiority in naval power, having acquired such command of the sea, as to cut off all intercourse between Spain and her colonies, Spain, in order to furnish her subjects in America those necessaries of life, without which they could not exist, and as the only means of receiving from thence any part of their treasure, departed so far from the usual rigour of its maxims, as to open the trade with Peru to her allies the French. The merchants of St. Malo, to whom Louis XIV. granted the privilege of this lucrative commerce, engaged in it with vigour, and carried it

i) Campomanes, i. 420.

on upon principles very different from those of the Spaniards. They supplied Peru with European commodities at a moderate price, and not in stinted quantity. The goods which they imported were conveyed to every province of Spanish America, in such abundance as had never been known in any former period. If this intercourse had been continued, the exportation of European commodities from Spain must have ceased, and the dependence of the colonies on the mother-country have been at an end. The most peremptory injunctions were therefore issued (1713.) prohibiting the admission of foreign vessels into any port of Peru or Chili, k) and a Spanish squadron was employed to clear the South Sea of intruders, whose aid was no longer necessary.

by checking contraband trade, particularly of the English Affiento company.

But though, on the cessation of the war, which was terminated by the treaty of Utrecht, Spain obtained relief from one encroachment on her commercial system, she was exposed to another, which she deemed hardly less pernicious. As an inducement that might prevail with Queen Anne to conclude a peace, which France and Spain desired with equal ardour, Philip V. not only conveyed to Great Britain

k) Frezier Voy. 256. B. Ulloa Retab. ii. 104. &c. Alcedo y Herrera Aviso, &c. 236.

the Asiento, or contract for supplying the Spanish colonies with negroes, which had formerly been enjoyed by France, but granted it the more extraordinary privilege of sending annually to the fair of Porto bello, a ship of five hundred tons, laden with European commodities. In consequence of this, British factories were established at Carthagena, Panama, Vera Cruz, Buenos-Ayres, and other Spanish settlements. The veil with which Spain had hitherto covered the state and transactions of her colonies was removed. The agents of a rival nation, residing in the towns of most extensive trade, and of chief resort, had the best opportunities of becoming acquainted with the interior condition of the American provinces, of observing their stated and occasional wants, and of knowing what commodities might be imported into them with the greatest advantage. In consequence of information so authentick and expeditious, the merchants of Jamaica, and other English colonies who traded to the Spanish main, were enabled to assort and proportion their cargoes so exactly to the demands of the market, that the contraband commerce was carried on with a facility, and to an extent unknown in any former period. This, however, was not the most fatal consequence of the Asiento to the trade of Spain. The agents of the British South Sea company, under cover of the importation which they were authorised to

make by the ship sent annually to Porto bello, poured in their commodities on the Spanish continent, without limitation or restraint. Instead of a ship of five hundred tons, as stipulated in the treaty, they usually employed one which exceeded nine hundred tons in burden. She was accompanied by two or three smaller vessels, which, mooring in some neighbouring creek, supplied her clandestinely with fresh bales of goods, to replace such as were sold. The inspectors of the fair, and officers of the revenue, gained by exorbitant presents, connived at the fraud. 1) Thus, partly by the operations of the company, and partly by the activity of private interlopers, almost the whole trade of Spanish America was ingrossed by foreigners. The immense commerce of the Galeons, formerly the pride of Spain, and the envy of other nations, sunk (1737.) to nothing, and the squadron itself reduced from fifteen thousand to two thousand tons, m) served hardly any purpose but to fetch home the royal revenue arising from the fifth on silver.

Guarda Costas employed for this purpose.

While Spain observed those encroachments and felt so sensibly their pernicious effects, it was impossible not to make some effort to re-

1) See NOTE LXVI.

m) Alcedo y Herrera, p. 359. Campomanes, i, 436.

strain them. Her first expedient was to station ships of force, under the appellation of *Guarda Costas*, upon the coasts of those provinces, to which interlopers most frequently resorted. As private interest concurred with the duty which they owed to the publick, in rendering the officers who commanded those vessels vigilant and active, some check was given to the progress of the contraband trade, though in dominions so extensive, and so accessible by sea, no number of cruisers was sufficient to guard against its inroads in every quarter. This interruption of an intercourse, which had been carried on with so much facility, that the merchants in the British colonies were accustomed to consider it almost as an allowed branch of commerce, excited murmurs and complaints. These authorised, in some measure, and rendered more interesting, by several unjustifiable acts of violence committed by the captains of the Spanish *Guarda Costas*, precipitated Great Britain into a war with Spain, (1739.) in consequence of which the latter obtained a final release from the *Asiento*, and was left at liberty to regulate the commerce of her colonies, without being restrained by any engagement with a foreign power.

The use of register ships introduced.

As the formidable encroachments of the English on their American trade, had discover-

ed to the Spaniards the vast consumption of European goods in their colonies, and taught them the advantage of accommodating their importations to the occasional demand of the various provinces, they perceived the necessity of devising some method of supplying their colonies, different from their ancient one, of sending thither periodical fleets. That mode of communication had been found not only to be uncertain, as the departure of the Galeons and Flota was sometimes retarded by various accidents, and often prevented by the wars which raged in Europe, but to be ill adapted to afford America a regular and timely supply of what it wanted. The scarcity of European goods in the Spanish settlements frequently became excessive; their price rose to an enormous height; the vigilant eye of mercantile attention did not fail to observe this favourable opportunity, an ample supply was poured in by interlopers from the English, the French, and Dutch islands; and when the Galeons at length arrived, they found the markets so glutted by this illicit commerce, that there was no demand for the commodities with which they were loaded. In order to remedy this, Spain permitted a considerable part of her commerce with America, to be carried on by register ships. These are fitted out, during the intervals between the stated seasons when the

Galeons and Flota sail, by merchants in Seville or Cadiz, upon obtaining a licence from the council of the Indies, for which they pay a very high premium, and are destined for those ports where any extraordinary demand is foreseen or expected. By this expedient, such a regular supply of fresh commodities is conveyed to the American market, that the interloper is no longer allured by the same prospect of excessive gain, or the people in the colonies urged by the same necessity to engage in the hazardous adventures of contraband trade.

The Galeons abolished.

In proportion as experience manifested the advantages of carrying on trade in this mode, the number of register ships increased; and at length, in the year 1748, the Galeons, after having been employed upwards of two centuries, were finally laid aside. From that period there has been no intercourse with Chili and Peru but by single ships, dispatched from time to time as occasion requires, and when the merchants expect a market will open. These sail round Cape Horn, and convey directly to the ports in the South Sea the productions and manufactures of Europe, for which the people, settled in those countries, were formerly obliged to repair to Porto bello or Panama. These towns, as has been formerly

observed, must gradually decline, when deprived of that commerce to which they owed their existence. This disadvantage however is more than compensated, for the whole continent of South America receives supplies of European commodities, with so much regularity, and in such abundance, as must contribute greatly to the happiness and prosperity of all the colonies settled there. But as all the register ships destined for the South Sea, must still take their departure from Cadiz, and are obliged to return thither, n) this branch of the American commerce, even in its new and improved form, continues subject to the restraints of a species of monopoly, and feels those pernicious effects of it, which I have already described.

Schemes for reviving commerce,

Nor has the attention of Spain been confined to regulating the trade with its more flourishing colonies, it has extended likewise to the reviving commerce in those settlements where it was neglected, or had decayed. Among the new tastes which the people of Europe have acquired, in consequence of their intercourse with the natives of those countries which they conquered in America, that for chocolate is one of the most universal. The use of this liquor made with

n) Campomanes, l. 434. 440.

a paste, formed of the nut, or almond of the cacao-tree, compounded with various ingredients, the Spaniards first learned from the Mexicans; and it has appeared to them, and to the other European nations, so palatable, so nourishing, and so wholesome, that it has become a commercial article of considerable importance. The cacao-tree grows spontaneously in several parts of the torrid zone; but the nuts of the best quality, next to those of Guatimala, on the South Sea, are produced in the rich plains of Caraccas, a province of Tierra Firmè. In consequence of this acknowledged superiority in the quality of cacao in that province, and its communication with the Atlantick, which facilitates the conveyance to Europe, the culture of the cacao there is more extensive than in any district of America. But the Dutch, by the vicinity of their settlements in the small islands of Curazoa and Buen-Ayre, to the coast of Caraccas, gradually ingrossed the greatest part of the cacao trade. The traffick with the mother-country for this valuable commodity ceased almost entirely; and such was the supine negligence of the Spaniards, or the defects of their commercial arrangements, that they were obliged to receive from the hands of foreigners this production of their own colonies, at an exorbitant price.

by establishing the company of Caraccas.

In order to remedy an evil no less disgraceful, than pernicious to his subjects, Philip V. in the year 1728, granted to a body of merchants, an exclusive right to the commerce with Caraccas and Cumana; on condition of their employing, at their own expence, a sufficient number of armed vessels to clear the coast of interlopers. This society, distinguished sometimes by the name of the Company of Guipuscoa, from the province of Spain in which it is established, and sometimes by that of the Company of Caraccas, from the district of America to which it trades, has carried on its operations with such vigour and success, that Spain has recovered an important branch of commerce, which she had suffered to be wrested from her, and is plentifully supplied with an article of extensive consumption at a moderate price. Not only the parent state, but the colony of Caraccas, has derived great advantages from this institution; for although, at the first aspect, it may appear to be one of those monopolies, whose tendency is to check the spirit of industry, instead of calling it forth to new exertions, it has been prevented from operating in this manner, by several salutary regulations, framed upon foresight of such bad effects, and of purpose to obviate them. The planters in the Caraccas are not left to depend
entire-

entirely on the company, either for the importation of European commodities, or the sale of their own productions. The inhabitants of the Canary islands have the privilege of sending thither annually a register ship of considerable burden; and from Vera Cruz in New Spain, a free trade is permitted in every port comprehended in the charter of the company. In consequence of this, there is such a competition, that both with respect to what the colonies purchase, and what they sell, the price seems to be fixed at its natural and equitable rate. The company has not the power of raising the former, or degrading the latter at pleasure; and accordingly, since it was established, the increase of culture, of population, and of live stock, in the province of Caraccas, has been very considerable. o)

Enlargement of commercial ideas in Spain.

But as it is slowly that nations relinquish any system which time has rendered venerable, or that commerce can be diverted from the channel in which it has long been accustomed to flow; Philip V. in his new regulations concerning the American trade, paid such deference to the ancient maxim of Spain, concerning the limitation of all importation from the New World to one harbour, as to oblige both the register ships which returned from Peru, and

o) See NOTE LXVII.

those of the Guipuscoan Company from Caracas, to deliver their cargoes in the port of Cadiz. Since his reign, sentiments more liberal and enlarged begin to spread in Spain. The spirit of philosophical inquiry, which it is the glory of the present age to have turned from frivolous or abstruse speculations, to the business and affairs of men, has extended its influence beyond the Pyrenees. In the researches of ingenious authors, concerning the police or commerce of nations, the errors and defects of the Spanish system with respect to both met every eye, and have not only been exposed with severity, but are held up as a warning to other states. The Spaniards, stung with the reproaches of these authors, or convinced by their arguments and admonished by several enlightened writers of their own country, seem at length to have discovered the destructive tendency of those narrow maxims, which, by cramping commerce in all its operations, have so long retarded its progress. It is to the monarch now on the throne, that Spain is indebted for the first publick regulation formed in consequence of such enlarged ideas.

Establishment of regular packet-boats.

While Spain adhered with rigour to her ancient maxims concerning her commerce with America, she was so much afraid of opening any channel, by which an illicit trade might

find admission into the colonies, that she almost shut herself out from any intercourse with them, but that which was carried on by her annual fleets. There was no establishment for a regular communication of either publick or private intelligence, between the mother-country and its American settlements. From the want of this necessary institution, the operations of the state, as well as the business of individuals, were retarded or conducted unskilfully, and Spain often received from foreigners her first information with respect to very interesting events in her own colonies. But though this defect in police was sensibly felt, and the remedy for it was obvious; that jealous spirit with which the Spanish monarchs guarded the exclusive trade, restrained them from applying it. At length Charles III. surmounted those considerations which had deterred his predecessors, and in the year 1764 appointed packet-boats to be dispatched on the first day of each month, from Corugna to the Havanna or Porto-Rico. From thence letters are conveyed in smaller vessels to Vera Cruz and Porto bello, and transmitted by post through the kingdoms of Tierra Firmè, Granada, Peru, and New Spain. With no less regularity packet-boats sail once in two months to Rio de la Plata, for the accommodation of the provinces to the east of the Andes. Thus provision is made for a

speedy and certain circulation of intelligence throughout the vast dominions of Spain, from which equal advantages must redound to the political and mercantile interest of the kingdom. p) With this new arrangement, a scheme of extending commerce has been more immediately connected. Each of the packet-boats, which are vessels of some considerable burden, is allowed to take in half a loading of such commodities as are the product of Spain, and most in demand in the ports whither they are bound. In return for these they may bring home to Corugna an equal quantity of American productions. q) This may be considered as the first relaxations of those rigid laws, which confined the trade with the New World to a single port, and the first attempt to admit the rest of the kingdom to some share in it.

Free trade permitted to several provinces.

It was soon followed by one more decisive. In the year 1765, Charles III. laid open the trade to the windward islands, Cuba, Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad, to his subjects in every province of Spain. He permitted them to sail from certain ports in each of these, specified in the edict, at any season, and with whatever cargo they deemed most

p) Ponz Viage de España, vi. Prol. p. 15.

q) Append. ii. a la Educ. Pop. p. 31.

proper, without any other warrant than a simple clearance from the customhouse of the place whence they took their departure. He released them from the numerous and oppressive duties imposed on goods exported to America, and in place of the whole substituted a moderate tax of six in the hundred on the commodities sent from Spain. He allowed them to return either to the same port, or to any other where they might hope for a more advantageous market, and there to enter the homeward cargo, on payment of the usual duties. This ample privilege, which at once broke through all the fences which the jealous policy of Spain had been labouring, for two centuries and a half, to throw round its commercial intercourse with the New World, was soon after extended to Louisiana. and to the provinces of Yucatan and Campeachy. r)

Beneficial effects of it.

The propriety of this innovation, which may be considered as the most liberal effort of Spanish legislation, has appeared from its effects. Prior to the edict in favour of the free trade, Spain derived hardly any benefit from its neglected colonies in Hispaniola, Porto-Rico, Margarita, and Trinidad. Its commerce with Cuba was inconsiderable, and that of Yucatan

r). Append. li. a la Educ. Pop. 37. 54. 91.

and Campeachy was engrossed almost intirely by interlopers. But as soon as a general liberty of trade was permitted, the intercourse with those provinces revived, and has gone on with a rapidity of progression, of which there are few examples in the history of nations. In less than ten years, the trade of Cuba has been more than tripled. Even in those settlements where, from the languishing state of industry, greater efforts were requisite to restore its activity, their commerce has been doubled. It is computed, that such a number of ships is already employed in the free trade, that the tonnage of them far exceeds that of the Galeons and Flota, at the most flourishing æra of their commerce. The benefits of this arrangement are not confined to a few merchants, established in a favourite port. They are diffused through every province of the kingdom; and by opening a new market for their various productions and manufactures, must encourage and add vivacity to the industry of the farmer and artificer. Nor does the kingdom profit only by what it exports, it derives advantage likewise from what it receives in return, and has the prospect of being soon able to supply itself with several commodities of extensive consumption, for which it formerly depended on foreigners. The consumption of sugar in Spain is perhaps as great in proportion to the number of its inhabitants, as that of any European kingdom. But

though possessed of countries in the New World, whose soil and climate are most proper for rearing the sugar cane; though the domestick culture of that valuable plant in the kingdom of Granada was once considerable; such has been the fatal tendency of ill-judged institutions in America, and such the pressure of improper taxes in Europe, that Spain has lost almost entirely this branch of industry, which has enriched other nations. This commodity, which has now become an article of primary necessity in Europe, the Spaniards were obliged to purchase of foreigners, and had the mortification to see their country drained annually of an immense sum on that account. s) But if that spirit, which the permission of free trade has put in motion, shall persevere in its efforts with the same vigour, the cultivation of sugar in Cuba and Porto-Rico may increase so much, that in a few years their growth may be equal to the demand of the kingdom.

Free trade permitted between the colonies.

Spain has been induced, by her experience of the beneficial consequences resulting from having relaxed somewhat of the rigour of her ancient laws with respect to the commerce of the mother-country with the colonies, to permit a more liberal intercourse of one colony

s) Uztariz, c. 94.

with another. By one of the jealous maxims of the old system, all the provinces, situated on the South Sea were prohibited, under the most severe penalties, from holding any communication with one another. Though each of these yield peculiar productions, the reciprocal exchange of which might have added to the happiness of their respective inhabitants, or have facilitated their progress in industry, so solicitous was the Council of the Indies, to prevent their receiving any supply of their wants, but by the periodical fleets from Europe, that in order to guard against this, it cruelly debarred the Spaniards in Peru, in New Spain, in Guatemala, and the New Kingdom of Granada, from such a correspondence with their fellow-subjects, as tended manifestly to their mutual prosperity. Of all the numerous restrictions devised by Spain for securing the exclusive trade with her American settlements, none perhaps was more illiberal, none seem to have been more sensibly felt, or to have produced more hurtful effects. This grievance, coeval with the settlements of Spain in the New World, is at last redressed. In the year 1774, Charles III. published an edict, granting to the four vast provinces which I have mentioned, the privilege of a free trade with each other. t) What

t) Real Cedula penes me. Ponz Viage de España, vi. Prologo, p. 2. See NOTE LXVIII.

may be the effects of opening this communication between countries destined by their situation for reciprocal intercourse, cannot yet be determined by experience. They can hardly fail of being beneficial and extensive. The motives for granting this permission are manifestly no less laudable, than the principle on which it is founded is liberal; and both discover the progress of a spirit in Spain, far elevated above the narrow prejudices and maxims on which her system for regulating the trade, and conducting the government of her colonies, was originally founded.

New regulations concerning the government of the colonies.

At the same time that Spain has been intent on introducing regulations, suggested by more enlarged views of policy, into her system of American commerce, she has not been inattentive to the interior government of her colonies. Here too there was much room for reformation and improvement, and Don Joseph Galvez, who has now the direction of the department for Indian affairs in Spain, has enjoyed the best opportunities, not only of observing the defects and corruption in the political frame of the colonies, but of discovering the sources of those evils. After being employed seven years in the New World on an extraordinary mission, and with very extensive powers, as inspector-general of New Spain; after visiting

in person the remote provinces of Cinaloa, Sonora, and California, and making several important alterations in the state of their police and revenue; he began his ministry with a general reformation of the tribunals of justice in America.

Reformation of the courts of justice.

In consequence of the progress of population and wealth in the colonies, the business of the Courts of Audience has increased so much, that the number of judges of which they were originally composed, has been found inadequate to the growing labours and duties of the office, and the salaries settled upon them inferior to the dignity of the station. As a remedy for both he obtained a royal edict, establishing an additional number of judges in each court of Audience, with higher titles, and more ample appointments. u)

New distribution of governments.

To the same intelligent minister Spain is indebted for a new distribution of government in its American provinces. Even since the establishment of a third viceroyalty in the New Kingdom of Granada, so great is the extent of the Spanish dominions in the New World, that several places subject to the jurisdiction of each viceroy, were at such an enormous distance

u) Gazeta de Madrid, 19th March, 1776.

from the capitals in which they resided, that either their attention, nor their authority, could reach so far. Some provinces subordinate to the viceroy of New Spain, lay above two thousand miles from Mexico. There were countries subject to the viceroy of Peru still farther from Lima. The people in those remote districts could hardly be said to enjoy the benefit of civil government. The oppression and insolence of its inferior ministers they often feel, and rather submit to these in silence, than involve themselves in the expence and trouble of resorting to the distant capitals, where alone they can find redress.

New viceroyalty on Rio de la Plata.

As a remedy for this, a fourth viceroyalty has been erected, (Aug. 1776.) to the jurisdiction of which are subjected the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Buenos-Ayres, Paraguay, Tucuman, Potosi, St. Cruz de la Sierra, Charcas, and the towns of Mendoza and St. Juan. By this well judged arrangement, two advantages are gained. All the inconveniencies occasioned by the remote situation of those provinces which had been long felt, and long complained of, are removed. The countries most distant from Lima are separated from the viceroyalty of Peru, and united under a superior, whose seat of government at Buenos-Ayres, will be commodious and accessible. The contraband trade with the Portu-

guefe, which was become fo extenfive, as muft have put a final ftop to the exportation of commodities from Spain to her fouthern colonies, may be checked more thoroughly and with greater facility, when the fupreme magiftrate, by his vicinity to the places in which it is carried on, can view its progrefs and effects with his own eyes. Don Pedro Zevallos, who has been raifed to this new dignity, with appointments equal to thofe of the other viceroys, is well acquainted both with the ftate and the intereft of the countries over which he is to prefide, having ferved in them long, and with diftinction. By this difmemberment, fucceeding that which took place at the erection of the viceroyalty of the New Kingdom of Granada, almoft two-third parts of the territories, originally fubject to the viceroys of Peru, are now lopped off from their jurifdiction.

New government in provinces of Sonora, &c.

The limits of the viceroyalty of New Spain have likewise been confiderable circumfcribed, and with no lefs propriety and difcernment. Four of its moft remote provinces, Sonora, Cinaloa, California, and New Navarre, have been formed into a feparate government. The Chevalier de Croix, who is intrufted with this command, is not dignified with the title of viceroy, nor does he enjoy the appointments belonging to that rank, but his jurifdiction is altogether in-

dependent on the viceroyalty of New Spain. The erection of this last government seems to have been suggested, not only by the consideration of the remote situation of those provinces from Mexico; but by attention to the late discoveries made there, which I have mentioned. x) Countries containing such riches, and which probably may rise into such importance, required the immediate inspection of a governor, to whom they were specially committed. As every consideration of duty, of interest, and of vanity, must concur in prompting those new governors to encourage such exertion as tend to diffuse opulence and prosperity through the provinces committed to their charge, the beneficial effects of this arrangement may be considerable. Many districts in America, long depressed by the languor and feebleness natural to provinces which compose the extremities of an overgrown empire, may be animated with vigour and activity, when brought so near the seat of power, as to feel its invigorating influence.

Attempts to reform domestick policy.

Such, since the accession of the Bourbons to the throne of Spain, has been the progress of their regulations, and the gradual expansion of their views with respect to the commerce and

x) Book vii. p. 237.

government of their American colonies. Nor has their attention been so entirely engrossed by what related to the more remote parts of their dominions, as to render them neglectful of what was still more important, the reformation of domestick errors and defects in policy. Fully sensible of the causes to which the declension of Spain, from her former prosperity, ought to be imputed; they have made it a great object of their policy, to revive a spirit of industry among their subjects, and to give such extent and perfection to their manufactures, that they may be able to supply the demands of America from their own stock, and to exclude foreigners from a branch of commerce which has been so fatal to the kingdom. This they have endeavoured to accomplish, by a variety of edicts issued since the peace of Utrecht. They have granted bounties for the encouragement of some branches of industry; they have lowered the taxes on others; they have prohibited, or have loaded with additional duties, such foreign manufactures as come in competition with their own; they have instituted societies for the improvement of trade and agriculture; they have planted colonies of husbandmen in some uncultivated districts of Spain, and divided among them the waste fields; they have had recourse to every expedient, devised by commercial wisdom, or commercial jealousy, for reviving their own industry, and discountenancing that of other nations. These, however,

it is not my province to explain, or to inquire into their propriety and effects. There is no effort of legislation more arduous, no experiment in policy more uncertain, than an attempt to revive the spirit of industry where it has declined, or to introduce it where it is unknown. Nations, already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with such advantages, derived from the large capitals of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business, that the state which aims at rivalling, or supplanting them, must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance slowly. If the quantity of productive industry, now in Spain, be compared with that of the kingdom under the last listless monarchs of the Austrian line, its progress must appear considerable, and is sufficient to alarm the jealousy, and to call forth the most vigorous efforts, of the nations now in possession of the lucrative trade which the Spaniards aim at wresting from them. One circumstance may render those exertions of Spain an object of more serious attention to the other European powers. They are not to be ascribed wholly to the influence of the crown and its ministers. The sentiments and spirit of the people seem to second the provident care of their monarchs, and to give it greater effect. The nation has adopted more liberal ideas, not only with respect to

commerce, but domestick policy. In all the later Spanish writers, defects in the arrangements of their country concerning both are acknowledged, and remedies proposed; which ignorance rendered their ancestors incapable of discerning, and pride would not have allowed them to confess. y) But after all that the Spaniards have done, much remains to do. Many pernicious institutions and abuses, deeply incorporated with the system of internal policy and taxation, which has been long established in Spain, must be abolished, before industry and manufactures can recover an extensive activity.

Contraband trade.

Still, however, the commercial regulations of Spain with respect to her colonies, are too rigid and systematical to be carried into complete execution. The legislature that loads trade with impositions too heavy, or fetters it by restrictions too severe, defeats its own intention; and, in truth, is only multiplying the inducements to violate its statutes and proposing an high premium to encourage illicit traffick. The Spaniards, both in Europe and America, circumscribed in their mutual intercourse by the jealousy, or oppressed by the exactions of the crown, have their invention continually on the stretch how to elude its edicts. The vigilance and inge-

y) See NOTE LXIX.

ingenuity of private interest discover means of effecting this, which publick wisdom cannot foresee, nor publick authority prevent. This spirit, counteracting that of the laws, pervades the commerce of Spain with America in all its branches; and from the highest departments in government, descends to the lowest. The very officers appointed to check contraband trade, are often employed as instruments in carrying it on; and the boards instituted to restrain and punish it, are the channels through which it flows. The king is supposed to be defrauded by various artifices, of more than one half of the revenue which he ought to receive from America; z) and as long as it is the interest of so many persons to screen those artifices from detection, the knowledge of them will never reach the throne. „ How many ordinances, says “ Corita, „ how many instructions, how many letters „ from our sovereign, are sent in order to correct abuses, and how little are they observed, and what small advantage is derived „ from them! To me the old observation appears „ just, that where there are many physicians, and „ many medicines, there is want of health; where „ there are many laws, and many judges, there is „ want of justice. We have viceroys, presidents, „ governors, oydors, corregidores, alcaldes, and „ thousands of alguazils abound every where; but „ notwithstanding all these, publick abuses con-

z) Solorz. de Jure, ii. lib. v.

„ tinue to multiply. “ a) Time has increased the evils which he lamented as early as the reign of Philip II. A spirit of corruption has infected all the colonies of Spain in America. Men far removed from the seat of government; impatient to acquire wealth, that they may return speedily from what they are apt to consider as a state of exile in a remote unhealthful country; allured by opportunities too tempting to be resisted, and seduced by the example of those around them; find their sentiments of honour and of duty gradually relax. In private life, they give themselves up to a dissolute luxury, while in their publick conduct they become unmindful of what they owe to their sovereign and to their country.

Trade between New Spain and the Philippines.

Before I close this account of the Spanish trade in America, there remains one detached, but important branch of it, to be mentioned. Soon after his accession to the throne, Philip II. formed a scheme of planting a colony in the Philippine islands, which had been neglected since the time of their discovery; and he accomplished it (1564.) by means of an armament fitted out from New Spain. b) Manila, in the island of Luconia, was the station chosen for the

a) MS. penes me.

b) Torquem. i. lib. v. c. 14.

capital of this new establishment. From it an active commercial intercourse began with the Chinese, and a considerable number of that industrious people, allured by the prospect of gain, settled in the Philippines under the Spanish protection. They supplied the colony so amply with all the valuable productions and manufactures of the East, as enabled it to open a trade with America, by a course of navigation, the longest from land to land on our globe. In the infancy of this trade, it was carried on with Callao, on the coast of Peru; but experience having discovered the impropriety of fixing upon that as the port of communication with Manila, the staple of the commerce between the east and west was removed from Callao to Acapulco, on the coast of New Spain.

After various arrangements, it has been brought into a regular form. One or two ships depart annually from Acapulco, which may carry out silver to the amount of five hundred thousand pesos, c) but have hardly any thing else of value on board; in return for which, they bring back spices, drugs, china and japan wares, calicoes, chintz, muslins, silks, and every precious article, with which the benignity of the climate, or the ingenuity of its people, has enabled the East to supply the rest of the world. For some time the merchants

A a 2

c) Recop. lib. ix. c. 45. l. 6.

of Peru were admitted to participate in this traffick, and might send annually a ship to Aca-pulco, to wait the arrival of the vessels from Manila, and receive a proportional share of the commodities which they imported. At length, the Peruvians were excluded by most rigorous edicts, and all the commodities from the East reserved for the consumption of New Spain.

In consequence of the indulgence, the inhabitants of that country enjoy advantages unknown in the other Spanish colonies. The manufactures of the East are not only more suited to a warm climate, and more showy than those of Europe, but can be sold at a lower price; while, at the same time, the profits upon them are so considerable, as to enrich all those who are employed, either in bringing them from Manila, or vending them in New Spain. As the interest both of the buyer and seller concurred in favouring this branch of commerce, it has continued to extend in spite of regulations, concerted with the most anxious jealousy to circumscribe it. Under cover of what the laws permit to be imported, vast quantities of India goods are poured into the markets of New Spain, d) and when the flota arrives at Vera Cruz, it often finds the wants of the people already supplied by cheaper and more acceptable commodities.

d) See NOTE LXX.

There is not, in the commercial arrangements of Spain, any circumstance more inexplicable than the permission of this trade between New Spain and the Philippines, or more repugnant to its fundamental maxim of holding the colonies in perpetual dependance on the mother-country, by prohibiting any commercial intercourse that might suggest to them the idea of receiving a supply of their wants from any other quarter. This permission must appear still more extraordinary, from considering that Spain herself carries on no direct trade with her settlements in the Philippines, and grants a privilege to one of her American colonies, which she denies to her subjects in Europe. It is probable, that the colonists who originally took possession of the Philippines, having been sent out from New Spain, begun this intercourse with a country which they considered in some measure, as their parent state, before the court of Madrid was aware of its consequences, or could establish regulations in order to prevent it. Many remonstrances have been presented against this trade, as detrimental to Spain, by diverting into another channel, a large portion of that treasure which ought to flow into the kingdom, as tending to give rise to a spirit of independence in the colonies, and to encourage innumerable frauds, against which it is impossible to guard, in transactions so far removed from the inspection of government. But as it

requires no flight effort of political wisdom and vigour to abolish any practice which numbers are interested in supporting, and to which time has added the sanction of its authority, the commerce between New Spain and Manila seems to be as considerable as ever, and may be considered as one chief cause of the elegance and splendor conspicuous in this part of the Spanish dominions.

Publick revenue from America.

But, notwithstanding this general corruption in the colonies, and all the defalcations of the publick revenue, by the illicit importation of foreign commodities, or by the fraudulent arts of their own subjects, the Spanish monarchs receive a very considerable sum from their American dominions. This arises from taxes of various kinds, which may be divided into three capital branches. The first contains what is paid to the king, as sovereign, or superior lord of the New World: to this class belongs the duty on the gold and silver raised from the mines, and the tribute exacted from the Indians; the former is termed by the Spaniards the right of signiory, the latter is the duty of vassalage. The second branch comprehends the numerous duties upon commerce, which accompany and oppress it in every step of its progress, from the greatest transactions of the wholesale merchant, to the petty traffick of

the vender by retail. The third includes what accrues to the king, as head of the church, and administrator of ecclesiastical funds in the New World. In consequence of this he receives the first-fruits, annats, spoils, and other spiritual revenues, levied by the apostolick chamber in Europe; and is entitled, likewise, to the profit arising from the sale of the bull of Cruzado. This bull, which is published every two years, contains, an absolution from past offences by the pope, and, among other immunities, a permission to eat several kinds of prohibited food, during Lent, and on meagre days. The monks employed in dispersing those bulls, extol their virtues with all the fervour of interested eloquence; the people, ignorant and credulous, listen with implicit assent; and every person in the Spanish colonies, of European, Creolian, or mixed race, purchases a bull, which is deemed essential to his salvation, at the rate set upon it by government. e)

Its amount.

What may be the amount of those various funds, it is almost impossible to determine with precision, the extent of the Spanish dominions in America, the jealousy of government, which renders them inaccessible to foreigners, the mysterious silence which the Spa-

e) See NOTE LXXI.

niards are accustomed to observe with respect to the interior state of their colonies, combine in covering this subject with a veil which it is not easy to remove. But an account, apparently no less accurate than it is curious, has lately been published of the royal revenue in New Spain, from which we may form some idea with respect to what is collected in the other provinces. According to that account, the crown does not receive from all the departments of taxation in New Spain above a million of our money, from which one half must be deduced as the expence of the provincial establishment. f) Peru, it is probable, yields a sum not inferior to this; and if we suppose that all the other regions of America, including the islands, furnish a third share of equal value; we shall not perhaps be far wide from the truth, if we conclude, that the net publick revenue of Spain, raised in America, does not exceed a million and a half sterling. This falls far short of the immense sums to which suppositions, founded upon conjecture, have raised the Spanish revenue in America. g) It is remarkable, however, upon one account. Spain and Portugal are the only European powers, who derive a direct revenue from their colonies, as their quota towards defraying the

f) See NOTE LXXII.

g) See NOTE LXXIII.

general expence of government. All the advantage that accrues to other nations, from their American dominions, arises from the exclusive enjoyment of their trade; but beside this, Spain has brought her colonies to contribute towards increasing the power of the state; and in return for protection, to bear a proportional share of the common burden.

Accordingly, what I have computed as the amount of the Spanish revenue from America, comprehends only the taxes collected there, and is far from being the whole of what accrues to the king from his dominions in the New World. The heavy duties imposed on the commodities exported from Spain to America, h) as well as what is paid by those which she sends home in return; the tax upon the negroe slaves, with which Africa supplies the New World, together with several smaller branches of finance, bring large sums into the treasury, the precise extent of which I cannot pretend to ascertain.

Expence of administration.

But if the revenue which Spain draws from America be great, the expence of administration in her colonies bears proportion to it. In every department, even of her domestic police and finances, Spain has adopted a

h) See NOTE LXXIV.

system more complex, and more encumbered with a variety of tribunals, and a multitude of officers, than that of any European nation, in which the sovereign possesses such extensive power. From the jealous spirit with which Spain watches over her American settlements, and her endeavours to guard against fraud in provinces so remote from inspection; boards and officers have been multiplied there with still more anxious attention. In a country where the expence of living is great, the salaries allotted to every person in publick office must be high, and must load the revenue with an immense burden. The parade of government greatly augments the weight of it. The viceroys of Mexico, Peru, and the New Kingdom of Granada, as representatives of the king's person, among people fond of ostentation, maintain all the state and dignity of royalty. Their courts are formed upon the model of that at Madrid, with horse and foot guards, a household regularly established, numerous attendants, and ensigns of power, displaying such pomp, as hardly retains the appearance of a delegated authority. All the expence incurred by supporting the external and permanent order of government is defrayed by the crown. The viceroys have besides peculiar appointments suited to their exalted station. The salaries fixed by law are indeed extremely moderate, that of the viceroy of

Pern is only thirty thousand ducats. i) Of late, they have been raised to forty thousand.

These salaries, however, constitute but a small part of the viceroy's revenue. The exercise of an absolute authority extending to every department of government, and the power of disposing of many lucrative offices, afford them innumerable opportunities of accumulating wealth. To these, which may be considered as legal and allowed emoluments, vast sums are often added by exactions, which in countries so far removed from the seat of government, it is not easy to discover, and impossible to restrain. By monopolizing some branches of commerce, by a lucrative concern in others, by conniving at the frauds of merchants, a viceroy may raise such an annual revenue, as no subject of any European monarch enjoys. k) From the single article of presents made to him on the anniversary of his Name - day (which is always observed as a high festival,) I am informed that a viceroy has been known to receive sixty thousand pesos. According to a Spanish saying, the legal revenues of a viceroy are known, his real profits depend upon his opportunities and his conscience. Sensible of this, the kings of Spain, as I have formerly observed, grant a commission

i) Recop. lib. iii. tit. iii. c. 72.

k) See NOTE LXXV.

to their viceroys only for a few years. This circumstance, however, renders them often more rapacious, and adds to the ingenuity and ardour wherewith they labour to improve every moment of power which they know is hastening fast to a period; and short as its duration is, it usually affords sufficient time for repairing a shattered fortune, or for creating a new one. But even in situations so trying to human frailty, there are instances of virtue that remains unseduced. In the year 1772. the Marquis de Croix finished the term of his viceroyalty in New Spain with unsuspected integrity; and instead of bringing home exorbitant wealth, returned with the admiration and applause of a grateful people, whom his government had rendered happy.

N O T E S
AND
ILLUSTRATIONS.

1. The first group of respondents (Group 1) consisted of 100 individuals who were randomly selected from the general population of the United States. This group was used to establish the baseline for the study.

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NOTES

AND

ILLUSTRATIONS.

NOTE I. p. I.

IN tracing the progress of the Spanish arms in New Spain, we have followed Cortes himself as our most certain guide. His dispatches to the emperor contain a minute account of his operations. But the unlettered conqueror of Peru was incapable of relating his own exploits. Our information with respect to them, and other transactions in Peru, is derived however from contemporary and respectable authors.

The most early account of Pizarro's transactions in Peru, was published by Francisco de Xerez, his secretary. It is a simple unadorned narrative, carried down no farther than the death of Atahualpa, in 1533; for the author returned to Spain in 1534, and soon after he landed, printed at Seville his short History of the Conquest of Peru, addressed to the emperor.

Don Pedro Sancho, an officer who served under Pizarro, drew up an account of his ex-

pedition, which was translated into Italian by Ramusio, and inserted in his valuable collection, but has never been published in its original language. Sancho returned to Spain at the same time with Xerez. Great credit is due to what both those authors relate concerning the progress and operations of Pizarro; but the residence of the Spaniards in Peru had been so short, at the time when they left it, and their intercourse with the natives so slender, that their knowledge of the Peruvian manners and customs is very imperfect.

The next contemporary historian is Pedro Cieza de Leon, who published his *Cronica del Peru*, at Seville, in 1553. If he had finished all that he proposes in the general division of his work, it would have been the most complete history which had been published of any region in the New World. He was well qualified to execute it, having served during seventeen years in America, and visited in person most of the provinces concerning which he had occasion to write. But only the first part of his *Cronicle* has been printed. It contains a description of Peru, and several of the adjacent provinces with an account of the institutions and customs of the natives, and is written with so little art, and such an apparent regard for truth, that one must regret the loss of the other parts of his work.

This

This loss is amply supplied by Don Augustine Zarate, who published, in 1555, his *Historia del Descubrimiento y Conquista de la Provincia del Peru*. Zarate was a man of rank and education, and employed in Peru as comptroller-general of the publick revenue. His history, whether we attend to its matter or composition, is a book of considerable merit; as he had opportunity to be well informed, and seems to have been inquisitive with respect to the manners and transactions of the Peruvians, great credit is due to his testimony.

Don Diego Fernandez published his *Historia del Peru*, in 1571. His sole object is to relate the dissensions and civil wars of the Spaniards in that empire. As he served in a publick station in Peru, and was well acquainted both with the country, and with the principal actors in those singular scenes which he describes, as he possessed sound understanding, and great impartiality, his work may be ranked among those of the historians most distinguished for their industry in research, or their capacity in judging with respect to the events which they relate.

The last author who can be reckoned among the contemporary historians of the conquest of Peru, is Garcilasso de la Vega, Inca. For though the first part of his work, intitled, *Comentarios Reales del Origen de los Incas Reyes del Peru*, was not published sooner than

the year 1609, seventy-six years after the death of Atahualpa the last emperor, yet as he was born in Peru, and was the son of an officer of distinction among the Spanish conquerors, by a Coya, or lady of the royal race, on account of which he always took the name of Inca, as he was master of the language spoken by the Incas, and acquainted with the traditions of his countrymen, his authority is rated very high, and often placed above that of all the other historians. His work, however, is little more than a commentary upon the Spanish writers of the Peruvian story, and composed of quotations taken from the authors whom I have mentioned. This is the idea which he himself gives of it, Lib. i. c. 10. Nor is it in the account of facts only that he follows them servilely. Even in explaining the institutions and rites of his ancestors, his information seems not to be more perfect than theirs. His explanation of the Quipos is almost the same with that of Acofta. He produces no specimen of Peruvian poetry, but that wretched one which he borrows from Blas Valera, an early missionary, whose memoirs have never been published. Lib. ii. c. 15. As for composition, arrangement, or a capacity of distinguishing between what is fabulous, what is probable, and what is true, one searches for them in vain in the commentaries of the Inca. His work, however, notwithstanding its great

defects, is not altogether destitute of use. Some traditions which he received from his countrymen are preserved in it. His knowledge of the Peruvian language has enabled him to correct some errors of the Spanish writers, and he has inserted in it some curious facts, taken from authors whose works were never published, and are now lost.

NOTE II. p. 6.

One may form an idea both of the hardships which they endured, and of the regions which they visited, from the extraordinary mortality that prevailed among them. Pizarro carried out 112 men, Almagro 70. In less than nine months 130 of these died. Few fell by the sword; most of them were cut off by diseases. Xerez. p. 180.

NOTE III. p. 9.

This island, says Herrera, is rendered so uncomfortable by the unwholesomeness of its climate, its impenetrable woods, its rugged mountains, and the multitude of insects and reptiles, that it is seldom any softer epithet than that of infernal is employed in describing it. The sun is almost never seen there, and throughout the year it hardly ever ceases to rain. Dec. 3. lib. x. c. 3. Dampier touched

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at this island in the year 1685; and his account of the climate is not more favourable. Vol. i. p. 172. He, during his cruise on the coast, visited most of the places where Pizarro landed, and his description of them throws light on the narrations of the early Spanish historians.

NOTE IV. p. 25.

By this time horses had multiplied greatly in the Spanish settlements on the continent. When Cortes began his expedition in the year 1518., though his armament was more considerable than that of Pizarro, and composed of persons superior in rank to those who invaded Peru, he could procure no more than sixteen horses.

NOTE V. p. 26.

In the year 1740, D. Ant. Ulloa, and D. George Juan, travelled from Guayquil to Motupe, by the same route which Pizarro took. From the description of their journey, one may form an idea of the difficulty of his march. The sandy plains between St. Michael de Picura and Motupe extend 90 miles, without water, without a tree, a plant, or any green thing, on a dreary stretch of burning sand. Voyage, tom. i. p. 399, &c.

NOTE VI. p. 30.

This extravagant and unseasonable discourse of Valverde has been censured by all historians, and with justice. But though he seems to have been an illiterate and bigoted monk, nowise resembling the good Olmedo, who accompanied Cortes; the absurdity of his address to Atahualpa must not be charged wholly upon him. His harangue is evidently a translation, or paraphrase of that form, concerted by a junto of Spanish divines and lawyers in the year 1509, for explaining the right of their king to the sovereignty of the New World, and for directing the officers employed in America how they should take possession of any new country. See Vol. i. Note xxiii. The sentiments contained in Valverde's harangue must not then be imputed to the bigoted imbecillity of a particular man, but to that of the age. Gomara and Benzoni relate one circumstance concerning Valverde, which, if autentick, renders him an object, not of contempt only, but of horror. They assert, that during the whole action, Valverde continued to excite the soldiers to slaughter, calling to them to strike the enemy, not with the edge, but with the points of their swords. Gom. Cron. c. 113. Benz. Histor. Nov. Orbis, lib. iii. c. 3. Such behaviour was very different from that of the Roman Catholick clergy in other parts of America, where they uniformly ex-

erted their influence to protect the Indians, and to moderate the ferocity of their countrymen.

NOTE VII. p. 31.

Two different systems have been formed concerning the conduct of Atahualpa. The Spanish writers, in order to justify the violence of their countrymen, contend, that all the Inca's professions of friendship were feigned; and that his intention in agreeing to an interview with Pizarro at Caxamalea, was to cut off him and his followers at one blow; that for this purpose he advanced with such a numerous body of attendants, who had arms concealed under their garments to execute this scheme. This is the account given by Xeres and Zarate, and adopted by Herrera. But if it had been the plan of the Inca to destroy the Spaniards, one can hardly imagine that he would have permitted them to march unmolested through the desert of Motupe, or have neglected to defend the passes in the mountains, where they might have been attacked with so much advantage. If the Peruvians marched to Caxamalca with an intention to fall upon the Spaniards, it is inconceivable, that of so great a body of men, prepared for action, not one should attempt to make resistance, but all tamely suffer themselves to be butchered by an enemy whom they were

armed to attack. Atahualpa's mode of advancing to the interview, has the aspect of a peaceable procession, not of a military enterprize. He himself and his followers were, in their habits of ceremony, preceded, as on days of solemnity, by unarmed harbingers. Though rude nations are frequently cunning and false, yet, if a scheme of deception and treachery must be imputed either to a monarch, that had no great reason to be alarmed at a visit from strangers who solicited admission into his presence as friends, or to an adventurer so daring, and so little scrupulous as Pizarro, one cannot hesitate in determining where to fix the presumption of guilt. Even amidst the endeavours of the Spanish writers to palliate the proceedings of Pizarro, one plainly perceives, that it was his intention, as well as his interest, to seize the Inca, and that he had taken measures for that purpose previous to any suspicion of that monarch's designs.

Garcilasso de la Vega, extremely solicitous to vindicate his countrymen, the Peruvians, from the crime of having concerted the destruction of Pizarro and his followers, and no less afraid to charge the Spaniards with improper conduct towards the Inca, has framed another system. He relates, that a man of majestic form, with a long beard, and garments reaching to the ground, having appeared in vision to Vi-

racocha, the eighth Inca, and declared, that he was a child of the Sun, that monarch built a temple in honour of this person, and erected an image of him, resembling as nearly as possible the singular form in which he had exhibited himself to his view. In this temple, divine honours were paid to him, by the name of Viracocha. P. i. lib. iv. c. 21. lib. v. c. 22. When the Spaniards first appeared in Peru, the length of their beards, and the dress they wore, struck every person so much with their likeness to the image of Viracocha, that they supposed them to be children of the Sun, who had descended from heaven to earth. All concluded, that the fatal period of the Peruvian empire was now approaching, and that the throne would be occupied by new possessors. Atahualpa himself, considering the Spaniards as messengers from heaven, was so far from entertaining any thoughts of resisting them, that he determined to yield implicit obedience to their commands. From those sentiments flowed his professions of love and respect. To those were owing the cordial reception of Soto and Ferdinand Pizarro in his camp, and the submissive reverence with which he himself advanced to visit the Spanish general in his quarters; but from the gross ignorance of Philippillo, the interpreter, the declaration of the Spaniards, and his answer to it, were so ill explained, that by their mutual inability

to comprehend each other's intentions, the fatal rencounter at Caxamalca, with all its dreadful consequences, was occasioned.

It is remarkable, that no traces of this superstitious veneration of the Peruvians for the Spaniards, are to be found either in Xerez, or Sancho, or Zarate, previous to the interview at Caxamalca; and yet the two former served under Pizarro at that time, and the latter visited Peru soon after the conquest. If either the Inca himself, or his messengers, had addressed the Spaniards in the words which Garcilasso puts in their mouths, they must have been struck with such submissive declarations; and they would certainly have availed themselves of them to accomplish their own designs with greater facility. Garcilasso himself, though his narrative of the intercourse between the Inca and Spaniards, preceding the rencounter at Caxamalca, is founded on the supposition of his believing them to be Viracocha, or divine beings, P. ii. lib. i. c. 17, &c. yet with his usual inattention and inaccuracy he admits, in another place, that the Peruvians did not recollect the resemblance between them and the god Viracocha, until the fatal disasters subsequent to the defeat at Caxamalca, and then only began to call them Viracochas. P. i. lib. v. c. 21. This is confirmed by Herrera, dec. 5. lib. ii. c. 12. In many different parts of America, if we may believe

the Spanish writers, their countrymen were considered as divine beings who had descended from Heaven. But in this instance, as in many which occur in the intercourse between nations whose progress in refinements is very unequal, the ideas of those who used the expression were different from the ideas of those who heard it. For such is the idiom of the Indian languages, or such is the simplicity of those who speak them, that when they see any thing with which they were formerly unacquainted, and of which they do not know the origin; they say, that it came down from Heaven. Nugnez. Ram. iii. 327, C.

The account which I have given of the sentiments and proceedings of the Peruvians, appears to be more natural and consistent than either of the two preceding, and is better supported by the facts related by the contemporary historians.

According to Xerez, p. 200, two thousand Peruvians were killed. Sancho makes the number of the slain six or seven thousand. Ram. iii. 274, D. By Garcilasso's account, five thousand were massacred. P. ii. lib. i. c. 25. The number which I have mentioned, being the medium between the extremes, may probably be nearest the truth.

NOTE VIII. p. 33.

Nothing can be a more striking proof of this, than that three Spaniards travelled from

Caxamalea to Cuzco. The distance betwixt them is fix hundred miles. In every place throughout this vast extent of country they were treated with all the honours which the Peruvians paid to their sovereigns, and even to ther divinities. Under pretext of amassing what was wanting for the ransom of the Inca, they demanded the plates of gold with which the walls of the Temple of the Sun in Cuzco were adorned; and though the priests were unwilling to alienate those sacred ornaments, and the people refused to violate the shrine of their God, the three Spaniards, with their own hands, robbed the Temple of part of this valuable treasure; and such was the reverence of the natives for their persons, that though they beheld this act of sacrilege with astonishment, they did not attempt to prevent or disturb the commission of it. Zarate, lib. ii. c. 6. Sancho ap. Ramus. iii. 375, D.

NOTE IX. p. 47.

According to Herrera, the spoil of Cuzco, after setting apart the king's fifth, was divided among 480 persons. Each received 4000 pesos. This amounts to 1,920,000 pesos. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 3. But as the general, and other officers, were entitled to a part far greater than that of the private men, the sum total must have risen much beyond what I have mentioned.

Gomara, c. 123. and Zarate, lib. ii. c. 8. satisfy themselves with asserting in general, that the plunder of Cuzco was of greater value than the ransom of Atahualpa.

NOTE X. p. 50.

No expedition in the New World was conducted with more persevering courage than that of Alvarado, and in none were greater hardships endured. Many of the persons engaged in it were, like their leader, veterans who had served under Cortes, inured to all the rigour of American war. Such of my readers as have not an opportunity of perusing the striking description of their sufferings by Zarate or Herrera, may form some idea of the nature of their march from the sea-coast to Quito, by consulting the account which D. Ant. Ulloa gives of his own journey in 1736, nearly in the same route, *Voy. tom. i. p. 178, &c.* or that of M. Bouguer, who proceeded from Puerto Viejo, to Quito, by the same road which Alvarado took. He compares his own journey with that of the Spanish leader, and by the comparison, gives a most striking idea of the boldness and patience of Alvarado, in forcing his way through so many obstacles. *Voyage du Perou, p. 28, etc.*

NOTE XI. p. 51.

According to Herrera, there was entered on account of the king, in gold, 155,300 pesos, and 5400 marks (each 8 ounces) of silver, besides several vessels and ornaments, some of gold, and others of silver; on account of private persons; in gold 499,000 pesos, and 54,000 marks of silver. Dec. 5. lib. vi. c. 13.

NOTE XII. p. 61.

The Peruvians had recourse to other military arts than those of the Spaniards. As the calvalry were the chief object of their terror, they endeavoured to render them incapable of acting by means of a long thong with a stone fastened to each end. This, when thrown by a skilful hand, twisted about the horse and its rider, and entangled them so as to obstruct their motions. Herrera mentions this as an invention of their own. Dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 4. But as I have observed, vol. ii. p. 175, this weapon is common among several barbarous tribes towards the extremity of South America; and it is more probable, that the Peruvians had observed the dexterity with which they used it in hunting, and on this occasion adopted it themselves. The Spaniards were considerably annoyed by it. Herrera, *ibid.* Another instance of the ingenuity of the Peruvians deserves men-

tion. By turning a river out of its channel, they overflowed a valley, in which a body of the enemy was posted, so suddenly, that it was with the utmost difficulty the Spaniards made their escape. Herrera, dec. 5. lib. viii. c. 5.

NOTE XIII. p. 84.

Herrera's account of Orellana's voyage is the most minute, and apparently the most accurate. It was probably taken from the journal of Orellana himself. But the dates are not distinctly marked. His navigation down the Coca, or Napo, begun early in February 1541; and he arrived at the mouth of the river on the 26th of August, having spent near seven months in the voyage. M. de la Condamine, in the year 1743, sailed from Cuenca to Para, a settlement of the Portuguese at the mouth of the river, a navigation much longer than that of Orellana, in less than four months. Voyage, p. 179. But the two adventurers were very differently provided for the voyage. This hazardous undertaking, to which ambition prompted Orellana, and to which the love of science led M. de la Condamine, was undertaken in the year 1769, by Madame Godin des Odonais, from conjugal affection. The narrative of the hardships which she suffered, of the dangers to which she was exposed, and of the disasters

which befel her, is one of the most singular and affecting stories in any language, exhibiting in her conduct a striking picture of the fortitude which distinguishes the one sex, mingled with the sensibility and tenderness peculiar to the other. *Lettre de M. Godin, à M. de la Condamine.*

NOTE XIV. p. 88.

Hererra gives a striking picture of their indigence. Twelve gentlemen, who had been officers of distinction under Almagro, lodged in the same house, and having but one cloak among them, it was worn alternately by him who had occasion to appear in publick, while the rest, from the want of a decent dress, were obliged to keep within doors. Their former friends and companions were so much afraid of giving offence to Pizarro, that they durst not entertain or even converse with them. One may conceive what was the condition, and what the indignation of men once accustomed to power and opulence, when they felt themselves poor and despised, without a roof under which to shelter their heads, while they beheld others, whose merit and services were not equal to theirs, living with splendour in sumptuous edifices. *Dec. 6. lib. viii. c. 6.*

NOTE XV. p. 103.

Herrera, whose accuracy entitles him to great credit, asserts, that Gonzalo Pizarro pos-

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fessed domains in the neighbourhood of Chuquibambaca de la Plata, which yielded him an annual revenue greater than that of the archbishop of Toledo, the best endowed see in Europe. Dec. 7. lib. vi. c. 3.

NOTE XVI. p. 120.

All the Spanish writers describe his march, and the distresses of both parties very minutely. Zarate observes, that hardly any parallel to it occurs in history, either with respect to the length of the retreat or the ardour of the pursuit. Pizarro, according to his computation, followed the viceroy upwards of three thousand miles. Lib. v. c. 16. 26.

NOTE XVII. p. 137.

It amounted, according to Fernandez, the best informed historian of that period, to one million four hundred thousand pesos. Lib. ii. c. 79.

NOTE XVIII. p. 139.

Carvajal, from the beginning, had been an advocate for an accommodation with Gasca. Finding Pizarro incapable of holding that bold course which he originally suggested, he recommended to him a timely submission to his sovereign as the safest measures. When the president's offers



fers were first communicated to Carvajal : „ By our Lady (said he, in that strain of buffoonery which was familiar to him) the priest issues gracious bulls. He gives them both good and cheap, let us not only accept them, but wear them as reliques about our necks. “Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 63.

NOTE XIX. p. 146.

During the rebellion of Gonzalo Pizarro, seven hundred men were killed in battle, and three hundred and eighty were hanged or beheaded. Herrera, dec. 8. lib. iv. c. 4. Above three hundred of these were cut off by Carvajal. Fernandez, lib. ii. c. 91. Zarate makes the number of those put to violent death five hundred. Lib. vii. c. 1.

NOTE XX. p. 155.

In my inquiries concerning the manners and policy of the Mexicans, I have received much information from a large manuscript of Don Alonso de Corita, one of the judges in the Court of Audience of Mexico. In the year 1553, Philip II. in order that he might discover the mode of levying tribute from his Indian subjects, that would be most beneficial to the crown, and least oppressive to them, addressed a mandate to all the Courts of Audience in America, enjoining them to answer

certain queries which he proposed to them, concerning the ancient form of government established among the various nations of Indians, and the mode in which they paid taxes to their kings or chiefs. In obedience to this mandate, Corita, who had resided nineteen years in America, fourteen of which he passed in New Spain, composed the work of which I have a copy. He acquaints his sovereign, that he had made it an object during his residence in America and in all its provinces which he had visited, to inquire diligently into the manners and customs of the natives, that he had conversed for this purpose with many aged and intelligent Indians, and consulted several of the Spanish ecclesiastics, who understood the Indian languages most perfectly, particularly some of those who landed in New Spain soon after the conquest. Corita appears to be a man of some learning, and to have carried on his inquiries with the diligence and accuracy to which he pretends. Greater credit is due to his testimony from one circumstance. His work was not composed with a view to publication, or in support of any particular theory, but contains simple, though full answers to queries proposed to him officially. Though Herrera does not mention him among the authors whom he had followed as guides in his history, I should suppose, from several facts of which he takes notice, as well as from several expressions which he uses, that

this memorial of Corita was not unknown to him.

NOTE, XXI. p. 167.

The early Spanish writers were so hasty and inaccurate in estimating the numbers of people in the provinces and towns of America, that it is impossible to ascertain that of Mexico itself with any degree of precision. Cortes describes the extent and populousness of Mexico in general terms, which imply that it was not inferior to the greatest cities in Europe. Gomara is more explicit, and affirms, that there were 60,000 houses, or families in Mexico. Cron. c. 78. Herrera adopts his opinion, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13; and the generality of writers follow them implicitly without inquiry or scruple. According to this account, the inhabitants of Mexico must have been about 300,000. Torquemada, with his usual propensity to the marvellous, asserts, that there were a hundred and twenty thousand houses or families in Mexico, and consequently about six hundred thousand inhabitants. Lib. iii. c. 23. But in a very judicious account of the Mexican empire by one of Cortes's officers, the population is fixed at 60,000 people. Ramusio, iii. 309, A. Even by this account, which probably is much nearer the truth than any of the foregoing, Mexico was a great city.

NOTE XXII. p. 171.

It is to P. Torribio de Benavente, that I am indebted for this curious observation. Palafox, bishop of Ciudad de la Puebla Los Angeles, confirms and illustrates it more fully. The Mexican (says he) is the only language in which a termination indicating respect, *filavas reverenciales y de cortesia*, may be affixed to every word. By adding the final syllable *zin* or *azin* to any word it becomes a proper expression of veneration in the mouth of an inferior. If, in speaking to an equal, the word Father is to be used, it is *Tatl*, but an inferior says *Tatzin*. One priest speaking to another, calls him *Teopixque*; a person of inferior rank calls him *Teopixcatzin*. The name of the emperor who reigned when Cortes invaded Mexico, was Montezuma, but his vassals, from reverence, pronounced it *Montezumazin*. Torribio, MS. Palafox. *Virtudes del Indio*, p. 65. The Mexicans had not only reverential nouns, but reverential verbs. The manner in which these are formed from the verbs in common use, is explained by D. Jos. Aug. Aldama y Guevara, in his *Mexican Grammar*, No. 188.

NOTE XXIII. p. 177.

From comparing several passages in Corita and Herrera, we may collect with some degree of accuracy, the various modes in which the

Mexicans contributed towards the support of government. Some persons of the first order seem to have been exempted from the payment of any tribute, and as their only duty to the publick, were bound to personal service in war, and to follow the banner of the sovereign with their vassals. 2. The immediate vassals of the crown were bound not only to personal military service, but paid a certain proportion of the produce of their lands in kind. 3. Those who held offices of honour or trust, paid a certain share of what they received in consequence of holding these. 4. Each *Capullae*, or association, cultivated some part of the common field allotted to it, for the behoof of the crown, and deposited the produce in the royal granaries. 5. Some part of whatever was brought to the publick markets, whether fruits of the earth, or the various productions of their artists and manufacturers, was demanded for the publick use, and the merchants who paid this were exempted from every other tax. 6. The *Mayeques*, or *adscripti glebae*, were bound to cultivate certain districts in every province, which may be considered as crown lands, and brought the increase into publick storehouses. Thus the sovereign received some part of whatever was useful or valuable in the country, whether it was the natural production of the soil, or acquired by the industry of the people. What each contributed towards the support of govern-

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ment, seems to have been inconsiderable. Cortes, in answer to one of the queries put to the Audience of Mexico by Philip II. endeavours to estimate in money the value of what each citizen might be supposed to pay, and does not reckon it at more than three or four reals, about eighteen pence or two shillings a head.

NOTE XXIV. p. 178.

Cortes, who seems to have been as much astonished with this, as with any instance of Mexican ingenuity, gives a particular description of it. Along one of the causeways, says he, by which they enter the city, are conducted two conduits, composed of clay tempered with mortar, about two paces in breadth, and raised about six feet. In one of them is conveyed a stream of excellent water, as large as the body of a man, into the centre of the city, and it supplies all the inhabitants plentifully. The other is empty, that when it is necessary to clean, or repair the former, the stream of water may be turned into it. As this conduit passes along two of the bridges, where there are breaches in the causeway, through which the salt-water of the lake flows, it is conveyed over them in pipes as large as the body of an ox, then carried from the conduit to the remote quarters of the city.

in canoes, and sold to the inhabitants. Relat. ap. Ramus. 241, A.

NOTE XXV. p. 180.

In the armoury of the royal palace of Madrid, are shewn suits of armour, which are called Montezuma's. They are composed of thin lacquered copper-plates. In the opinion of very intelligent judges they are evidently eastern. The forms of the silver ornaments upon them, representing dragons, &c. may be considered as a confirmation of this. They are infinitely superior in point of workmanship to any effort of American art. The Spaniards probably received them from the Philippine islands. The only unquestionable specimen of Mexican art that I know of in Great Britain, is a cup of very fine gold, which is said to have belonged to Montezuma. It weighs 5 oz. 12 dwt. Three drawings of it were exhibited to the Society of Antiquaries, June 10, 1765. A man's head is represented on this cup. On one side the full face, on the other the profile, on the third the back parts of the head. The relievo is said to have been produced by punching the inside of the cup, so as to make the representation of a face on the outside. The features are rude, but very tolerable, and certainly too rude for Spanish workmanship. This cup was purchased by Edward earl of

Oxford, while he lay in the harbour of Cadiz with the fleet under his command, and is now in the possession of his grandson, Lord Archer. I am indebted for this information to my respectable and ingenious friend Mr. Barrington.

NOTE XXVI. p. 185.

The learned reader will perceive how much I have been indebted, in this part of my work, to the guidance of the bishop of Gloucester, who has traced the successive steps; by which the human mind advanced in this line of its progress, with much erudition, and greater ingenuity. He is the first, as far as I know, who formed a rational and consistent theory concerning the various modes of writing practised by nations, according to the various degrees of their improvement. Div. Legation of Moses, iii. 69, &c. Some important observations have been added by the learned and intelligent author of the *Traité de la Formation Mécanique des Langues*, tom. i. 295, &c.

As the Mexican paintings are the most curious monuments extant of the earliest mode of writing, it will not be improper to give some account of the means by which they were preserved from the general wreck of every work of art in America, and communicated to the Publick. For the most early and complete collection of these published by Purchas, we are

indebted to the attention of that curious inquirer, Hakluyt, Don Antonio Mendoza, viceroy of New Spain, having deemed those paintings a proper present for Charles V, the ship in which they were sent to Spain was taken by a French cruizer, and they came into the possession of Thevet, the king's geographer, who having travelled himself into the New World, and described one of its provinces, was a curious observer of whatever tended to illustrate the manners of the Americans. On his death, they were purchased by Hakluyt, at that time chaplain of the English ambassador to the French court; and, being left by him to Purchas, were published at the desire of the learned antiquary Sir Henry Spelman. Purchas, iii. 1065.

The second specimen of Mexican picture-writing, was published by Dr. Francis Gemelli Carreri, in two copper-plates. The first is a map, or representation of the progress of the ancient Mexicans on their first arrival in the country, and of the various stations in which they settled, before they founded the capital of their empire in the lake of Mexico. The second is a Chronological Wheel, or Circle, representing the manner in which they computed and marked their cycle of fifty-two years. The former was given to him by Dr. Christoval de Guadalajara, in the city of Puebla de los Angeles; the latter he received from Don Carlos de Sigüenza y Gongora. But as it seems now

to be a received opinion (founded I know not on what evidence) that Carreri was never out of Italy, and that his famous *Giro del Mundo* is an account of a fictitious voyage, I have not mentioned these paintings in the text. They have, however, manifestly the appearance of being Mexican productions, and are allowed to be so by Boturini, who was well qualified to determine whether they were genuine or supposititious. The style of painting in the former is considerably more perfect than any other specimen of Mexican design; but as the original is said to have been much defaced by time, I suspect that it has been improved by some touches from the hand of an European artist. Carreri, Churchill, iv. p. 487. The 'chronological wheel' is a just delineation of the Mexican mode of computing time, as described by Acofta, lib. vi. c. 2. It seems to resemble one which that learned Jesuit had seen; and if it be admitted as a genuine monument, it proves that the Mexicans had artificial, or arbitrary characters, which represented several things besides numbers. Each month is there represented by a symbol expressive of some work or rite peculiar to it.

The third specimen of Mexican painting was discovered by another Italian. In 1736, Lorenzo Boturini Benaduci set out for New Spain, and was led by several incidents to study the language of the Mexicans, and to collect

the remains of their historical monuments. He persisted nine years in his researches, with the enthusiasm of a projector, and the patience of an antiquary. In 1746, he published at Madrid, *Idea de una Nueva Historia General de la America Septentrional*, containing an account of the result of his inquiries; and he added to it a catalogue of his American Historical Museum, arranged under thirty six different heads. His idea of a New History appears to me the work of a whimsical credulous man. But his catalogue of Mexican maps, paintings, tribute-rolls, calendars, &c. is amazing. Unfortunately a ship, in which he had sent a considerable part of them to Europe, was taken by an English privateer in the war before last; and it is probable that they perished by falling into the hands of ignorant captors. Boturini himself incurred the displeasure of the Spanish court, and died in an hospital at Madrid. The history, of which the *Idea*, &c. was only a prospectus, was never published. The remainder of his Museum seems to have been dispersed. Some part of it came into the possession of the present archbishop of Toledo, when he was primate of New Spain; and he published from it that curious tribute-roll which I have mentioned.

The only other collection of Mexican paintings, as far as I can learn, is in the Imperial Library at Vienna. By order of their Imperial Majesties, I have obtained such a specimen of

these as I desired, in eight paintings, made with so much fidelity, that I am informed the copies could hardly be distinguished from the originals. According to a note in this *Codex Mexicanus*, it appears to have been a present from Emmanuel King of Portugal to Pope Clement VII. who died A. D. 1533. After passing through the hands of several illustrious proprietors, it fell into those of the cardinal of Saxe Eisenach, who presented it to the emperor Leopold. These paintings are manifestly Mexican, but they are in a style very different from any of the former. An engraving has been made of one of them, in order to gratify such of my readers, as may deem this an object worthy of their attention. Were it an object of sufficient importance, it might, perhaps, be possible, by recourse to the plates of Purchas, and the archbishop of Toledo, as a key, to form plausible conjectures concerning the meaning of this picture. Many of the figures are manifestly similar. A. A. are targets, and darts, almost in the same form with those published by Purchas, p. 1070, 1071, &c. B. B. are figures of temples, nearly resembling those in Purchas, p. 1109 and 1113; and in Lorenzano, Plate II. C. is a bale of mantles, or cotton cloths, the figure of which occurs in almost every plate of Purchas and Lorenzano. E. E. E. seem to be Mexican captains in their war dress, the fantastick orna-

ments of which resemble the figures to Purchas, p. 1110, 1111, 1113. I should suppose this picture to be a tribute-roll, as their mode of noting numbers occurs frequently, D. D. D. &c. According to Boturini, the mode of computation by the number of knots, was known to the Mexicans as well as to the Peruvians, p. 85. and the manner in which the number of units is represented in the Mexican paintings in my possession, seems to confirm this opinion. They plainly resemble a string of knots on a cord or slender rope.

Since I published the former Edition, Mr. Waddilove, who is still pleased to continue his friendly attention to procure me information, has discovered, in the Library of the Escorial, a volume in folio, consisting of forty sheets of a kind of pasteboard, each the size of a common sheet of writing paper, with great variety of uncouth and whimsical figures of Mexican painting, in very fresh colours, and with an explanation in Spanish to most of them. The first twenty-two sheets are the signs of the months, days, &c. About the middle of each sheet are two or more large figures for the month, surrounded by the signs of the days. The last eighteen sheets are not so filled with figures. They seem to be signs of Deities, and images of various objects. According to this Calendar in the Escorial, the Mexican year contained 286 days, divided into 22 months

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of 13 days. Each day is represented by a different sign, taken from some natural objects, a serpent, a dog, a lizard, a reed, a house, &c. The signs of days in the Calendar of the Escorial are precisely the same with those mentioned by Boturini, Idea, &c. p. 45. But, if we may give credit to that Author, the Mexican year contained 360 days, divided into 18 months of 20 days. The order of days in every month was computed, according to him, first by what he calls a tridecennary progression of days from one to thirteen, in the same manner as in the Calendar of the Escorial, and then by a septenary progression of days from one to seven, making in all twenty. In this Calendar, not only the signs which distinguish each day, but the qualities supposed to be peculiar to each month, are marked. There are certain weaknesses which seem to accompany the human mind through every stage of its progress in observation and science. Slender as was the knowledge of the Mexicans in Astronomy, it appears to be already connected with judicial Astrology. The fortune and character of persons born in each month are supposed to be decided by some superior influence predominant at the time of nativity. Hence it is foretold in the Calendar, that all who are born in one month will be rich, in another warlike, in a third luxurious, &c. The pasteboard, or whatever substance it may be on which the

Calendar in the Escorial is painted, seems, by Mr. Waddilove's description of it, to resemble nearly that in the Imperial Library at Vienna. In several particulars, the figures bear some likeness to those in the plate which I have published. The figures marked D. which induced me to conjecture, that this painting might be a tribute-roll similar to these published by Purchas and the Archbishop of Toledo, Mr. Waddilove supposes to be signs of days; and I have such confidence in the accuracy of his observations, as to conclude his opinion to be well founded. It appears, from the characters in which the explanations of the figures are written, that this curious monument of Mexican art has been obtained, soon after the conquest of the Empire. It is singular that it should never have been mentioned by any Spanish Author.

NOTE XXVII. p. 187.

The first was called, the Prince of the deathful Lance; the second the Divider of Men; the third, the Shedder of Blood; the fourth, the Lord of the Dark-House. Acofta, Lib. vi. c. 25.

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NOTE XXVIII. p. 196.

The Temple of Cholula, which was deemed more holy than any in New Spain, was likewise the most considerable. But it was nothing more than a mount of solid earth. According to Torquemada, it was above a quarter of a league in circuit at the base, and rose to the height of forty fathom. Mon. Ind. Lib. li. c. 19.

From inspecting various figures of temples in the painting engraved by Purchas, there seems to be some reason for suspecting that all their temples were constructed in the same manner, See Vol. iii. p. 1109, 1110. 1113.

NOTE XXIX. p. 197.

Not only in Tlascala, and Tepeaca, but even in Mexico itself, the houses of the people were mere huts built with turf, or mud, or the branches of trees. They were extremely low, and flight, and without any furniture but a few earthen vessels. Like the rudest Indians, several families resided under the same roof, without having any separate apartments. Herrera, Dec. 2. lib. vii. c. 13. lib. x. c. 22. Dec. 3. lib. iv. c. 17. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 23.

NOTE

NOTE XXX. p. 197.

I am informed by a person who resided long in New Spain, and visited almost every province of it, that there is not, in all the extent of that vast empire, any monument, or vestige of any building more ancient than the conquest, nor of any bridge or highway, except some remains of the causeway from Guadaloupe to that gate of Mexico by which Cortes entered the city. MS. penes me. The author of another account in manuscript observes, „ That at this day there does not remain even the smallest vestige of the existence of any ancient Indian building, publick or private, either in Mexico or in any province of New Spain. I have travelled, says he, through all the countries adjacent to them, viz. New Galicia, New Biscay, New Mexico, Sonora, Cinaloa, the New Kingdom of Leon, and New Santandero, without having observed any monument worth notice, except the ruins near an ancient village in the valley de Casas Grandes, in lat. N. 30°. 46' longit. 258°. 24' from the island of Teneriffe, or 460 leagues N. N. W. from Mexico.“ He describes this minutely, and it appears to have been a paltry building of turf and stone plastered over with white earth or lime. A missionary informed that gentleman, that he had discovered the ruins of another settlement similar to the for-

mer, about an hundred leagues towards N. W. on the banks of the river St. Pedro, MS. penes me.

Those testimonies derive great credit from one circumstance, that they were not given in support of any particular system or theory, but as simple answers to queries which I had proposed. It is probable, however, that when these gentlemen assert, that no ruins or monuments of any ancient work whatever are now to be discovered in the Mexican Empire, they meant that there were no such ruins or monuments as conveyed any idea of grandeur or magnificence, in the works of its ancient inhabitants. For it appears from the testimony of several Spanish authors, that in Otumba, Tlascala, Cholula, &c. some vestiges of ancient buildings are still visible. Villa Segnor Teatro Amer. p. 143. 308. 353. D. Fran. Ant. Lorenzano, formerly archbishop of Mexico, and now of Toledo in his introduction to that edition of the Cartas de Relacion of Cortes, which he published at Mexico, mentions some ruins, which are still visible in several of the towns through which Cortes passed in his way to the capital. p. 4. &c. But neither of these authors gives any description of them, and they seem to be so very inconsiderable, as to show only that some buildings had once been there. The large mount of earth at Cholula, which the Spaniards dignified with the

name of temple, still remains, but without any steps by which to ascent, or any facing of stone. It appears now like a natural mount, covered with grass and shrubs, and possibly it was never any thing more. Torquem. lib. iii. c. 19. I have received a minute description of the remains of a temple near Cuernavaca, on the road from Mexico to Acapulco. It is composed of large stones, fitted to each other as nicely as those in the buildings of the Peruvians, which are hereafter mentioned. At the foundation it forms a square of 25 yards; but as it rises in height, it diminishes in extent, not gradually, but by being contracted suddenly at regular distances, so that it must have resembled the figure B in the plate. It terminated, it is said, in a spire.

NOTE XXXI. p. 203.

The exaggeration of the Spanish Historians, with respect to the number of human victims sacrificed in Mexico, appears to be very great. According to Gomara, there was no year in which twenty thousand human victims were not offered to the Mexican Divinities, and in some years they amounted to fifty thousand. Cron. c. 229. The skulls of those unhappy persons were ranged in order in a building erected for that purpose, and two of Cortes's officers who had counted them, informed Go-

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maras that their number was a hundred and thirty-six thousand. Ibid. c. 82. Herrera's account is still more incredible, that the number of victims was so great, that five thousand have been sacrificed in one day, nay, on some occasions; no less than twenty thousand. Dec. iii. lib. ii. c. 16. Torquemada goes beyond both in extravagance, for he asserts, that twenty thousand children, exclusive of other victims, were slaughtered annually. Mon. Ind. lib. vii. c. 21. The most respectable authority in favour of such high numbers is that of Zummaraga, the first bishop of Mexico, who, in a letter to the chapter general of his order, A. D. 1631, asserts that the Mexicans sacrificed annually twenty thousand victims. Davila, Teatro Eccles. 126. In opposition to all these accounts, B. de las Casas observes, that if there had been such an annual waste of the human species, the country could never have arrived at that degree of populousness, for which it was remarkable when the Spaniards first landed there; and he positively asserts, that the Mexicans never sacrificed more than fifty or a hundred persons in a year. See his dispute with Sepulveda, subjoined to his Brevissima Relacion, p. 100. Cortes does not specify what number of victims was sacrificed annually, but B. Diaz del Castillo relates, that an enquiry having been made, with respect to this, by the Franciscan Monks, who were

sent into New Spain immediately after the conquest, it was found that about two thousand five hundred were sacrificed every year in Mexico. C. 207.

NOTE XXXII. p. 205.

It is hardly necessary to observe, that the Peruvian Chronology is not only obscure, but repugnant to conclusions deduced from the most accurate and extensive observations, concerning the time that elapses during each reign, in any given succession of princes. The medium has been found not to exceed twenty years. According to Acofta and Garcilaffo de la Vega, Huana Capac, who died about the year 1527, was the twelfth Inca. The duration of the Peruvian monarchy ought not to have been reckoned above two hundred and forty years; but they affirm that it had subsisted four hundred years. Acofta. lib. vi. c. 19. Vega, lib. i. c. 9. By this account each reign is extended at a medium to thirty-three years, instead of twenty, the number ascertained by Sir Isaac Newton's observations; but so imperfect were the Peruvian traditions, that though the total is boldly marked, the number of years in each reign is unknown.

NOTE XXXIII. p. 213.

Many of the early Spanish writers assert, that the Peruvians offered human sacrifices. Xeres, p. 190. Zarate, lib. i. c. 11. Acosta, lib. v. c. 19. But Garcilasso de la Vega contends, that though this barbarous practice prevailed among their uncivilized ancestors, it was totally abolished by the Incas, and that no human victim was ever offered in any temple of the Sun. This assertion, and the plausible reasons with which he confirms it, are sufficient to refute the Spanish writers, whose accounts seem to be founded entirely upon report, not upon what they themselves had observed. Vega, lib. ii. c. 4. In one of their festivals, the Peruvians offered cakes of bread moistened with blood drawn from the arms, the eye-brows, and noses of their children. Id, lib. vii. c. 6. This rite appears to have been derived from their ancient practice of sacrificing human victims.

NOTE XXXIV. p. 220.

The Spaniards have adopted both those customs of the ancient Peruvians. They have preserved some of the aqueducts or canals, made in the days of the Incas, and have made new ones, by which they water every field that they cultivate. Ulloa Voyage, tom. i.

422. 477. They likewise continue to use guano, or the dung of sea-fowls, as manure. Ulloa gives a description of the almost incredible quantity of it in the small islands near the coast. Ibid. 481.

NOTE XXXV. p. 223.

The temple of Cayambo, the palace of the Inca at Callo in the plain of Lacatunga, and that of Atun-Cannar, are described by Ulloa, tom. i. 286, &c. who inspected them with great care. M. de Condamine published a curious memoir concerning the ruins of Atun-Cannar. Mem. de l'Academie de Berlin, A D. 1746, p. 435. Acofta describes the ruins of Cuzco, which he had examined, Lib. vi. c. 14. Garcilaffo, in his usual ftile, gives pompous and confufed descriptions of feveral temples, and other publick edifices. Lib. iii. c. 1. 21. lib. vi, c. 4. Don — — Zapata, in a large treatife concerning Peru, which has not hitherto been publifhed, communicates fome information with refpect to feveral monuments of the ancient Peruvians, which have not been mentioned by other authors. MS. penes me, Articulo xx. Ulloa describes fome of the ancient Peruvian fortifications, which were likewise works of great extent and folidity. Tom. i. 391. Three circumftances ftruck all thofe obfervers: the vaft fize of the ftones which

the Peruvians employed in some of their buildings. Acofta measured one, which was thirty feet long, eighteen broad, and fix in thickness; and yet, he adds, that in the fortrefs at Cuzco, there were ftones considerably larger. It is difficult to conceive how the Peruvians could move thefe, and raife them to the height even of twelve feet. The fecond circumftance is, the imperfection of the Peruvian art, when applied to working in timber. By the patience and perfeverance natural to Americans, ftones may be formed into any fhape, merely by rubbing one againft another, or by the ufe of hatchets or other inftruments made of ftone; but with fuch rude tools, little progrefs can be made in carpentry. The Peruvians could not mortize two beams together, or give any degree of union, or ftability to any work compofed of timber. As they could not form a centre, they were totally unacquainted with the ufe of arches in building, nor can the Spanifh authors conceive how they were able to frame a roof for thofe ample ftructures which they raifed.

The third circumftance is a ftriking proof, which all the monuments of the Peruvians furnifh, of their want of ingenuity and invention, accompanied with patience no lefs aftonifhing. None of the ftones employed, in thofe works were formed into any particular or uniform fhape, which could render them fit

for building. The Indians took them as they fell from the mountains, or were raised out of the quarries. Some were square, some triangular, some convex, some concave. Their art and industry were employed in joining them together, by forming such hollows in the one, as perfectly corresponded to the projections or risings in the other. This tedious operation, which might have been so easily abridged, by adapting the surface of the stones to each other, either by rubbing, or by their hatchets of copper, would be deemed incredible, if it were not put beyond doubt by inspecting the remains of those buildings. It gives them a very singular appearance to an European eye. There is no regular layer or stratum of building, and no one stone resembles another in dimension or form. At the same time, by the persevering, but ill-directed industry of the Indians, are all joined with that minute nicety which I have mentioned. Ulloa made this observation concerning the form of the stones in the fortrefs of Atun-Cannar. Voy. i. p. 387. Pineto gives a similar description of the fortrefs of Cuzco, the most perfect of all the Peruvian works. Zapata MS. penes me. According to M. de Condamine, there were regular strata of building in some parts of Atun-Cannar, which he remarks as singular, and as a proof of some progress in improvement.

NOTE XXXVI. p. 226.

The appearance of those bridges, which bend with their own weight, wave with the wind, and are considerably agitated by the motion of every person who passes along them, is very frightful at first. But the Spaniards have found them to be the easiest mode of passing the torrents in Peru, over which it would be difficult to throw more solid structures either of stone or timber. They form those hanging bridges so strong and broad, that loaded mules pass along them. All the trade of Cuzco is carried on by means of such a bridge over the river Apurimac. Ulloa, tom. i. 358. A more simple contrivance was employed in passing smaller streams: a basket, in which the traveller was placed, being suspended from a strong rope stretched across the stream, it was pushed or drawn from one side to the other. Ibid.

NOTE XXXVII. p. 239.

My information with respect to those events is taken from *Noticia breve de la expedicion militar de Sonora y Cinaloa, su exito feliz, y vantojoso estado, en que por consecuentia de ello, se han puesto ambas provincias*, published at Mexico, June 17th 1771, in order to satisfy the curiosity of the merchants, who had furnished the viceroy with money for defraying

the expence of the armament. The copies of this Noticia are very rare in Madrid; but I have obtained one, which has enabled me to communicate these curious facts to the Publick. According to this account, there was found in the mine Yecorato in Cinaloa, a grain of gold of twenty-two carats, which weighed sixteen marks four ounces four ochavas; this was sent to Spain as a present fit for the king, and is now deposited in the royal cabinet at Madrid.

NOTE XXXVIII. p. 239.

The uncertainty of geographers with respect to this point is remarkable, for Cortes seems to have surveyed its coasts with great accuracy. The archbishop of Toledo has published, from the original, in the possession of the Marquis del Valle, the descendant of Cortes, a map drawn in 1541, by the pilot Domingo Castillo, in which California is laid down as a peninsula, stretching out nearly in the same direction which is now given to it in the best maps, and the point where Rio Colorado enters the gulf is marked with precision. Hist. de Nueva Espagna, 327.

NOTE XXXIX. p. 243.

I am indebted for this fact to M. L'Abbé Raynal, tom. iii. 103. and upon consulting

an intelligent person, who having been long settled on the Mosquito shore, has been engaged in the logwood trade, I find that ingenious author has been well informed. The logwood, cut near the town of St. Francis of Campeachy, is of much better quality than that on the other side of Yucatan, and the English trade in the Bay of Honduras is almost at an end.

NOTE XL. p. 263.

P. Torribio de Benevente, or Motolinea, has enumerated ten causes of the rapid depopulation of Mexico, to which he gives the name of the Ten Plagues. Many of these are not peculiar to that province. 1. The introduction of the small-pox. This disease was first brought into New Spain in the year 1520 by a negro slave who attended Narvaez. Torribio affirms, that one half of the people in the provinces, visited with this distemper, died. To this mortality, occasioned by the small-pox, Torquemada adds the destructive effects of two contagious distempers which raged in the years 1545 and 1576. In the former 800,000; in the latter, above two millions perished, according to an exact account taken by order of the viceroys. Mon. Ind. i. 642. The small-pox was not introduced into Peru for several years after the invasion of the Spaniards, but prov-

ed very fatal to the natives. Garcia Origen. p. 88. 2. The numbers who, were killed, or died of famine in their war with the Spaniards, particularly during the siege of Mexico. 3. The great famine that followed after the reduction of Mexico, as all people engaged, either on one side or other, had neglected the cultivation of their lands. Something similar to this happened in all the other countries conquered by the Spaniards. 4. The grievous tasks imposed by the Spaniards upon the people belonging to their Repartimientos. 5. The oppressive burden of taxes which they were unable to pay, and from which they could hope for no exemption. 6. The numbers employed in collecting the gold, carried down by the torrents from the mountains, who were forced from their own habitations, without any provision made for their subsistence, and subjected to all the rigour of cold in those elevated regions. 7. The immense labour of rebuilding Mexico, which Cortes urged on with such precipitate ardour, as destroyed an incredible number of people. 8. The number of people condemned to servitude, under various pretexts, and employed in working the silver mines. These marked by each proprietor with a hot iron, like his cattle, were driven in herds to the mountains. The nature of the labour to which they were subjected there, the noxious vapours of the mines, the coldness of the climate,

and scarcity of food, were so fatal, that Torribio affirms, the country round several of those mines, particularly near Guaxago, was covered with dead bodies, the air corrupted with their stench, and so many vultures, and other voracious birds, hovered about for their prey, that the sun was darkened with their flight. 10. The Spaniards, in the different expeditions which they undertook, and by the civil wars which they carried on, destroyed many of the natives, whom they compelled to serve them as Tamemes, or carriers of burdens. This last mode of oppression was particularly ruinous to the Peruvians. From the number of Indians who perished in Gonzalo Pizarro's expedition into the countries to the east of the Andes, one may form some idea of what they suffered in similar services, and how fast they were wasted by them. Torribio, MS. Corita in his *Breve y Summaria Relacion*, illustrates and confirms several of Torribio's observations, to which he refers. MS. penes me.

NOTE XLI. p. 263.

Even Montesquieu has adopted this idea, lib. viii. c. 18. But the passion of that great man for system, sometimes rendered him inattentive to research; and from his capacity to refine, he was apt, in some instances, to overlook obvious and just causes.

NOTE XLII. p. 264.

A strong proof of this occurs in the testament of Isabella, where she discovers the most tender concern for the humane and mild usage of the Indians. Those laudable sentiments of the queen have been adopted into the public law of Spain, and serve as the introduction to the regulations contained under the title of the good treatment of the Indians, Recopil. lib. vi. tit. x.

NOTE XLIII. p. 267.

In the seventh title of the first book of the Recopilacion, which contains the laws concerning the powers and functions of archbishops and bishops, almost a third part of them relates to what is incumbent upon them, as guardians of the Indians, and points out the various methods in which it is their duty to interpose, in order to defend them from oppression, either with respect to their persons or property. Not only do the laws commit to them this honourable and humane office, but they actually exercise it.

Innumerable proofs of this might be produced from Spanish authors. But I rather refer to Gage, as he was not disposed to ascribe any merit to the popish clergy, to which they were not fully entitled: Survey, p. 142. 192,

&c. Henry Hawks, an English merchant, who resided five years in New Spain, previous to the year 1572, gives the same favourable account of the popish clergy. Hakluyt, iii. 466. By a law of Charles V. not only bishops, but other ecclesiasticks, are impowered to inform and admonish the civil magistrates, if any Indian is deprived of his just liberty and rights. Recopilac. lib. vi. tit. vi. ley 14; and thus were constituted legal protectors of the Indians. Some of the Spanish ecclesiasticks refused to grant absolution to such of their countrymen as possessed Encomiendas, and considered the Indians as slaves, or employed them in working their mines. Gonz. Davil. Teatro Eccles. i. 157.

NOTE XLIV. p. 267.

According to Gage, Chiapa dos Indos contains 4000 families, and he mentions it only as one of the largest Indian towns in America, p. 104.

NOTE XLV. p. 267.

It is very difficult to obtain an accurate account of the state of population in those kingdoms of Europe where the police is most perfect, and where science has made the greatest progress. In Spanish America, where know-
ledge

ledge is still in its infancy, and few men have leisure to engage in researches merely speculative, little attention has been paid to this curious inquiry. But in the year 1741, Philip V. enjoined the viceroys and governors of the several provinces in America, to make an actual survey of the people under their jurisdiction, and to transmit a report concerning their number and occupations. In consequence of this order, the Conde de Fuen Clara, viceroy of New Spain, appointed D. Jos. Antonio de Villa Segnor y Sanchez, to execute that commission in New Spain. From the reports of the magistrates in the several districts, as well as from his own observations, and long acquaintance with most of the provinces, Villa Segnor published the result of his inquiries in his Teatro Americano. His report, however, is imperfect. Of the nine dioceses, into which the Mexican empire has been divided, he has published an account of five only, viz. the archbishoprick of Mexico, the bishopricks of Puebla de los Angeles, Mechoacan, Oaxaca, and Nova Galicia. The bishopricks of Yucatan, Verapaz, Chiapa, and Guatimala, are entirely omitted, though the two latter comprehend countries, in which the Indian race is more numerous than in any part of New Spain. In his survey of the extensive diocese of Nova Galicia, the situation of the different Indian villages is described, but he specifies the num-

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ber of people only in a small part of it. The Indians of that vast province, in which the Spanish dominion is imperfectly established, are not registered with the same accuracy as in other parts of New Spain. According to Villa Segnor, the actual state of population in the five dioceses above mentioned is of Spaniards, negroes, mulattoes, and mestizos, in the dioceses of

				Families.
Mexico	—	—	—	105,202
Los Angeles	—	—	—	30,600
Mechoacan	—	—	—	30,840
Oaxaca	—	—	—	7,296
Nova Galicia	—	—	—	16,770
				<hr/>
				190,708

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is

953,540

Indian families in the diocese of Mexico

	—	—	—	119,511
Los Angeles	—	—	—	88,240
Mechoacan	—	—	—	36,196
Oaxaca	—	—	—	44,222
Nova Galicia	—	—	—	6,222
				<hr/>
				294,391

At the rate of five to a family, the total number is 1,471,955. We may rely with greater certainty on this computation of the num-

ber of Indians, as it is taken from the *Matricula*, or register, according to which the tribute paid by them is collected. As four dioceses of nine are totally omitted, and in that of *Nova Galicia* the numbers are imperfectly recorded, we may conclude, that the number of Indians in the Mexican empire exceeds two millions.

The account of the number of Spaniards &c. seems not to be equally complete. Of many places, *Villa Segnor* observes in general terms, that several Spaniards, negroes, and people of a mixed race, reside there, without specifying their number. If therefore, we make allowance for these, and for all who reside in the four dioceses omitted, the number of Spaniards and of those of a mixed race, may probably amount to a million and a half. In some places, *Villa Segnor* distinguishes between Spaniards and the three inferior races of negroes, mulattoes, and *mestizos*, and marks their number separately. But he generally blends them together. But from the proportion observable in those places, where the number of each is marked, as well as from the account of the state of population in New Spain by other authors, it is manifest that the number of negroes and persons of a mixed race far exceeds that of Spaniards. Perhaps the latter ought not to be reckoned above 500,000 to a million of the former.

Defective as this account may be, I have not been able to procure such intelligence concerning the number of people in Peru, as might enable me to form any conjecture equally satisfying with respect to the degree of its population. I have been informed, that in the year 1761, the protector of the Indians in the viceroyalty of Peru computed that 612,780 paid tribute to the king. As all females, and persons under age, are exempted from this tax in Peru, the total number of Indians ought, by that account, to be 2,449,120. MS. penes me.

I shall mention another mode, by which one may compute, or at least form a guess, concerning the state of population in New Spain and Peru. According to an account which I have reason to consider as accurate, the number of copies of the bull of Cruzada, exported to Peru on each new publication, is 1,171,953; to New Spain 2,649,326. I am informed, that but few Indians purchase bulls, and that they are sold chiefly to the Spanish inhabitants, and those of mixed race, so that the number of Spaniards, and people of a mixed race, will amount by this mode of computation to at least three millions.

The number of inhabitants in many of the towns in Spanish America, may give us some idea of the extent of population, and correct the inaccurate, but popular notion entertained in Great Britain, concerning the weak and desolate state of their colonies. The city of

Mexico contains at least 150,000 people. Puebla de los Angeles contains above 60,000 Spaniards, and people of a mixed race. Villa Seignor, p. 247. Guadalaxara contains above 30,000, exclusive of Indians. Id. ii. 206. Lima contains 54,000. D. Cosme Bueno Descr. de Peru. 1764. Carthagena contains 25,000. Potosi contains 25,000. Bueno, 1767. Popayan contains above 20,000. Ulloa, i. 287. Towns of a second class are still more numerous. The cities in the most thriving settlements of other European nations in America cannot be compared with these.

Such are the detached accounts of the number of people in several towns, which I found scattered in authors whom I thought worthy of credit. But I have obtained an enumeration of the inhabitants of the towns in the province of Quito, on the accuracy of which I can rely; and I communicate it to the Publick, both to gratify curiosity, and to rectify the mistaken notion which I have mentioned. St. Francisco de Quito contains between 50 and 60,000 people of all the different races. Besides the city; there are in the Corregimiento 29 curas or parishes established in the principal villages, each of which has smaller hamlets depending upon it. The inhabitants of these are mostly Indians and Mestizos. St. Juan de Pasto has between 6 and 8000 inhabitants, besides 27 dependent villages. St. Miguel de

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Ibara 7000 citizens, and ten villages. The district of Havalla between 18 and 20,000 people. The district of Tacunna between 10 and 12,000. The district of Ambato between 8 and 10,000, besides 16 depending villages. The city of Riobamba between 16 and 20,000 inhabitants, and 9 depending villages. The district of Chimbo between 6 and 8000. The city of Guayaquil from 16 to 20,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. The district of Atuañi between 5 and 6000, and 4 depending villages. The city of Cuenza between 25 and 30,000 inhabitants, and 9 populous depending villages. The town of Laxa from 8 to 10,000 inhabitants, and 14 depending villages. This degree of population, though slender, if we consider the vast extent of the country, is far beyond what is commonly supposed. I have omitted to mention, in its proper place, that Quito is the only province in Spanish America that can be denominated a manufacturing country; hats, cotton stuffs, and coarse woollen cloths, are made there in such quantities, as to be sufficient not only for the consumption of the province, but to furnish a considerable article for exportation into other parts of Spanish America. I know not whether the uncommon industry of this province should be considered as the cause or the effect of its populousness. But among the ostentatious inhabitants of the New World, the passion for every thing that

comes from Europe is so violent, that I am informed the manufactures of Quito are so much undervalued, as to be on the decline.

NOTE XLVI. p. 274.

These are established at the following places. St. Domingo in the island of Hispaniola, Mexico in New Spain, Lima in Peru, Panama in Tierra Firmè, Santiago in Guatimala, Guadalajara in New Galicia, Santa Fé in the New Kingdom of Granada. La Plata in the country Los Charcas, St. Francisco de Quito, St. Jago de Chili, Buenos-Ayres. To each of these are subjected several large provinces, and some so far removed from the cities where the courts are fixed, that they can derive little benefit from their jurisdiction. The Spanish writers commonly reckon up twelve courts of Audience, but they include that of Manila in the Philippine Islands.

NOTE XLVII. p. 282.

On account of the distance of Peru and Chili from Spain, and the difficulty of carrying commodities of such bulk as wine and oil across the isthmus of Panama, the Spaniards in those provinces have been permitted to plant vines and olives. But they are strictly prohibited from exporting wine or oil to Panama, Guati-

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mala, or any province in such a situation as to receive it from Spain. Recop. lib. i. tit. xvii. l. 15 - 18.

NOTE XLVIII. p. 284.

This computation was made by Benzoni, A. D. 1550, fifty-eight years after the discovery of America. Hist. Novi Orbis, lib. iii. c. 21. But as Benzoni wrote with the spirit of a malcontent, disposed to detract from the Spaniards in every particular, it is probable that his calculation is too low.

NOTE XLIX. p. 285.

My information, with respect to the division and transmission of property in the Spanish colonies, is imperfect. The Spanish authors do not explain this fully, and have not perhaps attended sufficiently to the effects of their own institutions and laws. Solorzano de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. ii. l. 16. explains in some measure the introduction of the tenure of Mayoralgo, and mentions some of its effects. Villa Segnor takes notice of a singular consequence of it. He observes, that in some of the best situations in the city of Mexico, a good deal of the ground is unoccupied, or covered only with the ruins of the houses once erected upon it, and adds, that as this ground is held

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by right of Mayōraigo, and cannot be alienated, that desolation and those ruins become perpetual. *Teatr. Amer.* vol. i. p. 34.

NOTE L. p. 288.

There is no law that excludes Creoles from offices either civil or ecclesiastick. On the contrary, there are many Cédulas which recommend the conferring places of trust indiscriminately on the natives of Spain and America. *Betancurt y Figueroa Derecho, &c.* p. 5, 6. But notwithstanding such repeated recommendations, preferment in almost every different line is conferred on native Spaniards. A remarkable proof of this is produced by the author last quoted. From the discovery of America to the year 1637, three hundred and sixty-nine bishops, or archbishops, have been appointed to the different dioceses in that country, and of all that number only twelve were Creoles, p. 40. This predilection for Europeans seems still to continue. By a royal mandate, issued in 1776, the chapter of the Cathedral of Mexico is directed to nominate European ecclesiastics of known merit and abilities, that the King may appoint them to supply vacant benefices. MS, penes me.

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NOTE LI. p. 294.

Moderate as this tribute may appear, such is the extreme poverty of the Indians in many provinces of America, that the exacting of it is intolerably oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios, p. 192.

NOTE LII. p. 295.

In New Spain, on account of the extraordinary merit and services of the first conquerors, as well as the small revenue arising from the country previous to the discovery of the mines of Zacatecas, the encomiendas were granted for three, and sometimes for four lives. Recopil. lib. vi. tit. ii. c. 14, &c.

NOTE LIII. p. 296.

D. Ant. Ulloa contends, that working in mines is not noxious, and as a proof of this informs us, that many Mestizos and Indians who do not belong to any Repartimiento, voluntarily hire themselves as miners; and several of the Indians, when the legal term of their service expires, continue to work in the mines of choice. Entreten. p. 265. But his opinion concerning the wholesomeness of this occupation is contrary to the experience of all ages; and wherever men are allured by high wages, they will engage in any species of labour, however fatiguing or pernicious it may be.

D. Hern. Carillo Altemirano relates a curious fact incompatible with this opinion. Wherever mines are wrought, says he, the number of Indians decreases; but in the province of Campeachy, where there are no mines, the number of Indians has increased more than a third since the conquest of America, though neither the soil nor climate be so favourable as in Peru or Mexico. Colbert Collect. In another memorial presented to Philip III. in the year 1609. Captain Juan Gonzalez de Azevedo asserts, that in every district of Peru, where the Indians are compelled to labour in the mines, their numbers were reduced to the half, and in some places to the third, of what it was under the viceroyalty of Don Fran. Toledo in 1581. Colb. Collect.

NOTE LIV. p. 297.

As labour of this kind cannot be prescribed with legal accuracy, the tasks seem to be in a great measure arbitrary, and like the services exacted by feudal superiors, in vinea, prato aut messe, from their vassals, are extremely burdensome, and often wantonly oppressive. Pegna Itiner. par Parochos de Indios.

NOTE LV. p. 297.

The turn of service known in Peru by the name of Mita, is called Tanda in New Spain.

There it continues no longer than a week at a time. No person is called to serve at a greater distance from his habitation than 24 miles. This arrangement is less oppressive to the Indians than that established in Peru. Memorial of Hern. Carillo Altamirano. Colbert Collect.

NOTE LVI. p. 300.

The strongest proof of this may be deduced from the laws themselves. By the multitude and variety of regulations to prevent abuses, we may form an idea of their number. Though the laws have, wisely, provided that no Indian shall be obliged to serve in any mine at a greater distance from his place of residence than thirty miles; we are informed in a memorial of D. Hernan Carillo Altamirano presented to the king, that the Indians of Peru are often compelled to serve in mines at the distance of a hundred, a hundred and fifty, and even two hundred leagues from their habitation. Colbert Collect. Many mines are situated in parts of the country, so barren, and so distant from the ordinary habitations of the Indians, that the necessity of procuring labourers to work there, has obliged the Spanish monarchs to dispence with their own regulations in several instances, and to permit the viceroys to compel the people of more remote provinces to resort to those mines. Escalona Gazophyl.

Perub. lib. i. c. 16. But in justice to them it should be observed, that they have been studious to alleviate this oppression, as much as possible, by enjoining the viceroys to employ every method, in order to induce the Indians to settle in some part of the country adjacent to the mines. Id. Ibid.

NOTE LVII. p. 306.

Torquemada, after a long enumeration, which has the appearance of accuracy, concludes the number of monasteries in New Spain to be four hundred. Mon. Ind. lib. xix. c. 32. The number of monasteries in the city of Mexico alone was, in the year 1745, fifty-five. Villa Segnor, Teatr. Amer. i. 34. Ulloa reckons up forty convents in Lima; and mentioning those for nuns, he says, that a small town might be peopled out of them, the number of persons shut up there is so great. Voy. i. 429. Philip III. in a letter to the viceroy of Peru, A. D. 1620, observes, that the number of convents in Lima was so great, that they covered more ground than all the rest of the city. Solorz. lib. iii. c. 23. n. 57. Lib. iii. c. 16. Torquem. lib. xv. c. 3. The first monastery in New Spain was founded A. D. 1525, four years only after the conquest. Torq. lib. xv. c. 16.

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According to Gil Gonzalez Davila, the complete establishment of the American church in all the Spanish settlements was, in the year 1649, 1 patriarch, 6 archbishops, 32 bishops, 346 prebends, 2 abbots, 5 royal chaplains, 840 convents. Teatro Ecclesiastico de las Ind. Occident. vol. i. Pref. When the order of Jesuits was expelled from all the Spanish dominions, the colleges, professed houses, and residencies, which it possessed in the province of New Spain, were thirty, in Quito sixteen, in the New Kingdom of Granada thirteen, in Peru seventeen, in Chili eighteen, in Paraguay eighteen; in all a hundred and twelve. Colleccion General de Providencias hasta aqui tomadas sobre estranamiento, &c. de la Compagnia, part i. p. 19. The number of Jesuits, priests and novices in all these, amounted to 2245. MS. penes me.

In the year 1644, the city of Mexico presented a petition to the king, praying that no new monastery might be founded, and that the revenues of those already established might be circumscribed, otherwise the religious houses would soon acquire the property of the whole country. The request likewise, that the bishops might be laid under restrictions in conferring holy orders, as there were at that time in New Spain above six thousand clergymen without any living. Id. p. 16. These abuses must have been enormous indeed, when the super-

sition of American Spaniards was shocked, and induced to remonstrate against them.

NOTE LVIII. p. 309.

This description of the manners of the Spanish clergy, I should not have ventured to give, upon the testimony of protestant authors alone, as they may be suspected of prejudice or exaggeration. Gage, in particular, who had a better opportunity than any protestant, to view the interior state of Spanish America, describes the corruption of the church which he had forsaken, with so much of the acrimony of a new convert, that I should have distrusted his evidence, though it communicates some very curious and striking facts. But Benzoni mentions the profligacy of ecclesiasticks in America at a very early period after their settlement there. Hist. lib. ii. c. 19, 20. M. Frezier, an intelligent observer, and zealous for his own religion, paints the dissolute manners of the Spanish ecclesiasticks in Peru, particularly the regulars, in stronger colours than I have employed. Voy. p. 51. 215, &c. M. Gentil confirms this account, Voy. i. 34. Correal concurs with both, and adds many remarkable circumstances. Voy. i. 61. 155. 161. I have good reason to believe, that the manners of the regular clergy, particularly in Peru, are still extremely indecent. Acofta himself acknowledges that great corruption of

manners had! been the consequence of permitting monks to forsake the retirement and discipline of the cloister, and to mingle again with the world, by undertaking the charge of the Indian parishes. *De procur. Ind. Salute*, lib. iv. c. 13, &c. He mentions particularly those vices, of which I have taken notice, and considers the temptations to them as so formidable, that he leans to the opinion of those who hold that the regular clergy should not be employed as parish priests. *Lib. v. c. 20*. Even the advocates for the regulars admit, that many and great enormities abounded among the monks of different orders, when set free from the restraint of monastick discipline; and from the tone of their defence, one may conclude that the charge brought against them was not destitute of truth. In the French colonies, the state of the regular clergy is nearly the same as in the Spanish settlements, and the same consequences have followed. M. Biet, superior of the secular priests in Cayenne, inquires with no less appearance of piety than of candour, into the causes of this corruption, and imputes it chiefly to the exemption of regulars from the jurisdiction and censures of their diocesans; to the temptations to which they are exposed; and to their engaging in commerce. *Voy. p. 320*. It is remarkable that all the authors, who censure the licentiousness of the Spanish regulars with the greatest severity, concur in vindicating the

the conduct of the Jesuits. Formed under a discipline more perfect than that of the other monastick orders, or animated by that concern for the honour of the society, which takes such full possession of every member, the Jesuits, both in Mexico and Peru, it is allowed, maintained a most irreproachable decency of manners. Frezier, 223. Gentil, i. 34 The same praise is likewise due to the bishops and most of the dignified clergy. Frez. *ibid*.

A volume of the *Gazeta de Mexico* for the years 1728, 1729, 1730, having been communicated to me, I find there a striking confirmation of what I have advanced concerning the spirit of low illiberal superstition prevalent in Spanish America. From the news-papers of any nation, one may learn what are the objects which chiefly engross its attention, and appear to it most interesting. The *Gazette of Mexico* is filled almost entirely with accounts of religious functions, with descriptions of processions, consecrations of churches, beatifications of saints, festivals, autos da fé, &c. Civil or commercial affairs, and even the transactions of Europe, occupy but a small corner in this magazine of monthly intelligence. From the titles of new books, which are regularly inserted, it appears that two-thirds of them are treatises of scholastick theology, or of monkish devotion.

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NOTE LIX. p. 310.

Solorzano, after mentioning the corrupt morals of some of the regular clergy, with that cautious reserve, which became a Spanish layman, in touching on a subject so delicate, gives his opinion very explicitly, and with much firmness against committing parochial charges to monks. He produces the testimony of several respectable authors of his country, both divines and lawyers, in confirmation of his opinion. *De Jure Ind.* ii. lib. iii. c. 16. A striking proof of the alarm excited by the attempt of the Prince d'Esquilache to exclude the regulars from parochial cures, is contained in the Colbert collection of papers. Several memorials were presented to the king by the procurators for the monastick orders, and replies were made to these in name of the secular clergy. An eager, and even rancorous, spirit is manifest on both sides, in the conduct of this dispute.

NOTE LX. p. 315.

Not only the native Indians, but the Mestizos, or children of a Spaniard and Indian, were originally excluded from the priesthood, and refused admission into any religious order. But by a law issued Sept. 28th, 1588, Philip II. required the prelates of America to ordain such mestizos born in lawful wedlock, as they

should find to be properly qualified, and to permit them to take the vows in any monastery where they had gone through a regular noviciate. Recopil. lib. i. tit. vii. l. 7. Some regard seems to have been paid to his law in New Spain; but none in Peru. Upon a representation of this to Charles II. in the year 1697, he issued a new edict enforcing the observation of it, and professing his desire to have all his subjects, Indians and Mestizos as well as Spaniards, admitted to the enjoyment of the same privileges. Such, however, was the aversion of the Spaniards in America to the Indians, and their race, that this seems to have produced little effect; for in the year 1725, Philip V. was obliged to renew the injunction in a more peremptory tone. But so unfurmountable are the hatred and contempt of the Indians among the Peruvian Spaniards, that the present king has been constrained to enforce the former edicts anew by a law, published September 11, 1775. Real Cedula, MS. penes me.

NOTE LXI. p. 320.

Uztariz, an accurate and cautious calculator, seems to admit, that the quantity of silver which does not pay duty may be stated thus high. According to Herrera, there was not above a third of what was extracted from Poto-

fi that paid the king's fifth. Dec. viii. lib. ii. c. 15. Solorzano asserts likewise, that the quantity of silver which is fraudulently circulated, is far greater than that which is regularly stamped, after paying the fifth. *De Ind. jure*, vol. ii. lib. V. p. 846.

NOTE LXII. p. 324.

When the mines of Potosi were discovered in the year 1545, the veins were so near the surface, that the ore was easily extracted, and so rich that it was refined with little trouble and at small expence, merely by the action of fire. This simple mode of refining by fusion alone continued until the year 1574, when the use of mercury in refining silver, as well as gold, was discovered. Those mines having been wrought without interruption for two centuries, the veins are now sunk so deep, that the expence of extracting the ore is greatly increased. Besides this, the richness of the ore, contrary to what happens in most other mines, has become less, as the vein continued to dip, and has diminished to such a degree, that one is amazed that the Spaniards should persist in working it. Other rich mines have been successively discovered, but in general the value of the ores has decreased so much, while the expence of extracting them has augmented, that the court of Spain, in the year 1736, reduced the duty payable to the king from a fifth to a tenth.

All the quicksilver used in Peru, is extracted from the famous mine of Guancabelica discovered in the year 1563. The crown has reserved the property of this mine to itself; and the persons who purchased the quicksilver, paid not only the price of it, but likewise a fifth, as a duty to the king. But, in the year 1761, this duty on quicksilver was abolished, on account of the increase of expence in working mines. Ulloa, *Entretenimientos*, xii — xv. *Voyage*, i. p. 505, 523. In consequence of this abolition of the fifth, and some subsequent abatements of price, which became necessary on account of the increasing expence of working mines, quicksilver, which was formerly sold at eighty pesos the quintal, is now delivered by the king at the rate of sixty pesos. Campomanes *Educ. Popul.* ii. 132, Note. The duty on gold is reduced to a twentieth, or five per cent. Any of my readers who are desirous of being acquainted with the mode in which the Spaniards conduct the working of their mines, and the refinement of the ore, will find an accurate description of the ancient method by Acofta. *Lib.* iv. c. 1 — 13. And of their recent more improvements in the metallurgick art, by Gamboa *Comment. a las ordenanz. de minas*, c. 22.

NOTE LXIII p. 327.

Many remarkable proofs occur of the advanced state of industry in Spain, at the begin-

ning of the sixteenth century. The number of cities in Spain was considerable, and they were peopled far beyond the proportion that was common in other parts of Europe. The causes of this I have explained, Hist. of Char. V. i. 210. Wherever cities are populous, that species of industry which is peculiar to them increases, artificers and manufacturers abound. The effect of the American trade in giving activity to these is manifest, from a singular fact. In the year 1545, while Spain continued to depend on its own industry, for the supply of its colonies, so much work was bespoken from the manufacturers, that it was supposed they could hardly finish it in less than six years. Campom. i. 406. Such a demand must have put much industry in motion, and have excited extraordinary efforts. Accordingly, we are informed, that in the beginning of Philip II.'s reign, the city of Seville alone, where the trade with America centered, gave employment to no fewer than 16,000 looms in silk or woollen work, and that above 130,000 persons had occupation in carrying on those manufactures. Campom. ii. 472. But so rapid and pernicious was the operation of the causes which I shall enumerate, that before Philip III. ended his reign, the looms in Seville were reduced to 400. Uztariz, c. 7.

Since the publication of the first edition, I have the satisfaction to find my ideas concern-

ning the early commercial intercourse between Spain and her colonies confirmed and illustrated by Dr. Bernardo Ward, of the Junta de Comercio at Madrid in his Proyecto Economico, Part ii. c. 1. „ Under the reigns of Charles V. and Philip II. “ says he, „ the manufactures of Spain and of the Low Countries subject to her dominion were in a most flourishing state. Those of France and England were in their infancy. The republick of the United Provinces did not then exist. No European power but Spain had colonies of any value in the New World. Spain could supply her settlements there with the productions of her own soil, the fabricks wrought by the hands of her own artisans, and all she received in return for these belonged to herself alone. Then the exclusion of foreign manufactures was proper, because it might be rendered effectual. Then Spain might lay heavy duties upon goods exported to America, or imported from it, and might impose what restraints she deemed proper upon a commerce entirely in her own hands. But when time and successive revolutions had occasioned an alteration in all those circumstances, when the manufactures of Spain began to decline, and the demands of America were supplied by foreign fabricks, the original maxims and regulations of Spain should have been accommodated to the change in her situation. The policy that was wise at one period, became absurd in the other. “

NOTE LXIV. p. 337.

No bale of goods is ever opened, no chest of treasure is examined. Both are received on the credit of the persons to whom they belong; and only one instance of fraud is recorded, during the long period in which trade was carried on with this liberal confidence. All the coined silver which was brought from Peru to Porto bello in the year 1654, was found to be adulterated, and to be mingled with a fifth part of base metal. The Spanish merchants with their usual integrity sustained the whole loss, and indemnified the foreigners, by whom they were employed. The fraud was detected, and the treasurer of the revenue in Peru, the author of it, was publicly burnt. B. Ulloa Retablif. de Manuf. &c. lib. ii. p. 102.

NOTE LXV. p. 342.

Many striking proofs occur of the scarcity of money in Spain. Of all the immense sums which have been imported from America, the amount of which I shall afterwards have occasion to mention, Moncada asserts that there did not remain in Spain, in 1619, above two hundred millions of pesos, one half in coined money, the other in plate and jewels. Restaur. de Espagna, Disc. iii. c. 1. Uztariz, who published his valuable work in 1724, contends, that in money, plate, and jewels, there did

not remain a hundred millions. Theor. &c. c. 3. Campomanes, on the authority of a remonstrance from the community of merchants in Toledo to Philip III. relates, as a certain proof how scarce cash had become, that persons who lent money, received a third part of the sum which they advanced as interest and premium. Educ. Popul. i. 417.

NOTE LXVI. p. 346.

The account of the mode in which the factors of the South Sea Company conducted the trade in the fair of Porto bello, which was opened to them by the Asiento, I have taken from Don Dion. Alcedo y Herrera, president of the court of Audience in Quito, and governor of that province. Don Dionysio was a person of such a respectable character for probity and discernment, that his testimony, in any point, would be of much weight; but greater credit is due to it in this case, as he was an eye-witness of the transactions which he relates, and was often employed in detecting and authenticating the frauds which he describes. It is probable, however, that his representation being composed at the commencement of the war which broke out between Great Britain and Spain, in the year 1739, may, in some instances, discover a portion of the acrimonious spirit, natural at that juncture. His detail of

facts is curious; and even English authors confirm it in some degree, by admitting both that various frauds were practised in the transactions of the annual ship, and that the contraband trade from Jamaica, and other British colonies, was become enormously great. But for the credit of the English nation it may be observed, that those fraudulent operations are not to be considered as deeds of the company, but as the dishonourable arts of their factors and agents. The company itself sustained a considerable loss by the Asiento trade. Many of its servants acquired immense fortunes. Anderson Chronol. deduct. ii. 388.

NOTE LXVII. p. 353.

Several facts with respect to the institution, the progress, and the effects, of this company, are curious, and but little known to English readers. Though the province of Venezuela, or Caraccas, extends four hundred miles along the coast, and is one of the most fertile in America; it was so much neglected by the Spaniards, that during the twenty years prior to the establishment of the company, only five ships sailed from Spain to that province and during 16 years from 1706 to 1722 not a single ship arrived from the Caraccas in Spain. Noticias de Real Compania de Caraccas, p. 28. During this period Spain must have been supplied almost entirely with the large quantity of cacao,

which it consumes, by foreigners. Before the erection of the company, neither tobacco nor hides were imported from Caraccas into Spain. Id. p. 117. But since the commercial operations of the company began in the year 1731, the importation of cacao into Spain has increased amazingly. During thirty years subsequent to 1701, the number of Fanegas of cacao (each a hundred and ten pounds) imported from Caraccas, was 643,215. During eighteen years subsequent to 1731, the number of Fanegas imported was 869,247; and if we suppose the importation to be continued in the same proportion during the remainder of thirty years, it will amount to 1,448,746 Fanegas, which is an increase of 805,531 Fanegas. Id. p. 148. During eight years subsequent to 1756, there has been imported into Spain by the Company, 88,482 arrobas (each twenty five pounds) of tobacco; and hides to the number of 177,354. Id. 161. Since the publication of the *Noticias de Compania*, in 1765, its trade seems to be on the increase. During five years subsequent to 1769, it has imported 179,156 Fanegas of cacao into Spain, 36,208 arrobas of tobacco, 75,496 hides, and 221,432 pesos in specie. *Campomanes*, ii. 162. The last article is a proof of the growing wealth of the colony. It receives cash from Mexico in return for the cacao, with which it supplies that province, and this it remits to Spain, or lays out in purchasing European goods. But

besides this, the most explicit evidence is produced, that the quantity of cacao raised in the province is double to what it yielded in 1731; the number of its live-stock is more than treble, and its inhabitants much augmented. The revenue of the bishop, which arises wholly from tithes, has increased from eight to twenty thousand pesos. *Notic.* p. 69. In consequence of the augmentation of the quantity of cacao imported into Spain, its price has decreased from eighty pesos for the fanega to forty. *Id.* 61. Since the publication of the first edition, I have learned that Guyana, including all the extensive provinces situated on the banks of the Orinoco, the islands of Trinidad and Margarita are added to the countries with which the company of Caraccas had liberty of trade by their former charters. *Real Cedula*, Nov. 19, 1776. But I have likewise been informed, that the institution of this company has not been attended with all the beneficial effects which I have ascribed to it. In many of its operations the illiberal and oppressive spirit of monopoly is conspicuous. But in order to explain this, it would be necessary to enter into minute details, which are not suited to the nature of this work.

NOTE LXVIII. p. 360.

This first experiment made by Spain of opening a free trade with any of her colonies, has

produced effects so remarkable, as to merit some farther illustration. The towns to which this liberty has been granted, are Cadiz and Seville for the province of Andalusia; Alicante and Carthage, for Valencia and Murcia; Barcelona, for Catalonia and Arragon; Santander, for Castile; Corugna, for Galicia; and Gijon, for Asturias: Append. ii. à la educ. popul. p. 41. These are either the ports of chief trade in their respective districts, or those most conveniently situated for the exportation of their respective productions. The following facts give a view of the increase of trade in the settlements to which the new regulations extend. Prior to the allowance of free trade, the duties collected in the custom-house at the Havannah were computed to be 104,208 pesos annually. During the five years preceding 1774, they rose at a medium to 308,000 pesos a year. In Yucatan, the duties have risen from 8,000 to 15,000. In Hispaniola, from 2,500 to 5,600. In Porto-Rico, from 1,200 to 7,000. The total value of goods imported from Cuba into Spain, was reckoned, in 1774, to be 1,500,000 pesos. Educ. Popul. i. 450, &c.

NOTE LXIX. p. 368.

The two Treatises of Don Pedro Rodriguez Campomanes, Fiscal del real consejo y Supremo (an office in rank and power nearly similar to

that of Attorney General in England), and Director of the Royal Academy of History, the one intitled *Discurso sobre el Fomento de la Industria popular*; the other, *Discurso sobre la Educacion Popular de los Artesanos y su Fomento*; the former published in 1774, and the latter in 1775, afford a striking proof of this. Almost every point of importance with respect to interior police, taxation, agriculture, manufactures, and trade, domestick as well as foreign, is examined in the course of these works, and there are not many authors, even in the nations most eminent for commercial knowledge, who have carried on their inquiries with a more thorough knowledge of those various subjects, and a more perfect freedom from vulgar and national prejudices, or who have united more happily the calm researches of philosophy, with the ardent zeal of a publick-spirited citizen. These books are in high estimation among the Spaniards, and it is a decisive evidence of the progress of their own ideas, that they are capable of relishing an author whose sentiments are so liberal.

NOTE LXX. p. 372.

The galeon employed in that trade, instead of the six hundred tons, to which it is limited by law, *Recop. lib. xlv. l. 15.* is commonly from twelve hundred to two thousand tons but-

den. The ship from Acapulco, taken by Lord Anson instead of the 500,000 pesos permitted by law, had on board 1,313,843 pesos, besides uncoined silver equal in value to 43,611 pesos more. Anson's Voyage, 384.

NOTE LXXI. p. 375.

The price paid for the bull varies according to the rank of different persons. Those in the lowest order, who are servants or slaves, pay two reals of plate, or one shilling; other Spaniards pay eight reals, and those in publick office, or who hold encomiendas, sixteen reals. Solorz. de jure Ind. vol. ii. lib. iii. c. 25. According to Chilton, an English merchant who resided long in the Spanish settlements, the bull of Cruzado bore an higher price in the year 1570, being then sold for four reals at the lowest. Hackluyt, iii. 461. The price seems to have varied at different periods. That exacted for the bulls issued in the last Predication, will appear from the ensuing table, which will give some idea of the proportional numbers of the different classes of citizens in New Spain and Peru.

There were issued for New Spain,

Bulls at 10 pesos each	—	—	4
at 2 pesos each	—	—	22,601
at 1 peso each	—	—	164,220
at 2 reals each	—	—	2,462,500
			<u>2,649,325</u>

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For Peru,			
at 16 pesos 4 $\frac{1}{2}$ reals each	—	—	3
at 3 pesos, 3 reals each	—	—	14,202
at 1 peso, 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ reals	—	—	78,822
at 4 reals	—	—	410,325
at 3 reals	—	—	668,601
			<hr/>
			1,171,953

NOTE LXXII. p. 376.

As Villa Segnor to whom we are indebted for this information, was accomptant-general in one of the most considerable departments of the royal revenue, and by that means had access to proper information, his testimony with respect to this point merits great credit. No such accurate detail of the Spanish revenues in any part of America, has hitherto been published in the English language; and the particulars of it may appear curious and interesting to some of my readers.

From the bull of Cruzado, published every two years there arises an annual revenue in	
pesos	— — — — 150,000
From the duty on silver	— — 700,000
From the duty on gold	— — 60,000
From tax on cards	— — 70,000
From tax on Pulque, a drink	
used by the Indians	161,000
From tax on stamped paper	— — 41,000
	<hr/>
Carried forward	1,182,000
	From

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	brought over,	1,182,000
From ditto on ice	— —	15,522
From ditto on leather	— —	2,500
From ditto on gunpowder	— —	71,550
From ditto on salt	— —	32,000
From ditto on copper of Mechocan	—	1,000
From ditto on alum	— —	6,500
From ditto on Juego de los gallos	—	21,100
From the half of ecclesiastical annats		49,000
From royal ninth of bishopricks,		
&c.	— — — —	68,800
From the tribute of Indians	— —	650,000
From Alcavala, or duty on sale of		
goods		721,875
From the Almajorifazgo . custom-		
house	— — —	373,333
From the mint	— —	357,500
		<hr/>
		3,552,680

This sum amounts to 819,161 l. Sterling; and if we add to it the profit accruing from the sale of 5000 quintals of quicksilver, imported from the mines of Almaden, in Spain, on the king's account. and what accrues from the Averia, and some other taxes which Villa Segnor does not estimate, the publick revenue in New Spain may well be reckoned above a million pounds sterling money. Theat. Mex. vol. i. p. 38, &c. According to Villa Segnor the total produce of the Mexican mines, amounts at a medium to eight millions of pesos, in silver annually, and to 5912 marks of gold

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Ib. p. 44. Several branches of the revenue have been explained in the course of the history; some, which there was no occasion of mentioning, require a particular illustration. The right to the tythes in the New World, is vested in the crown of Spain, by a bull of Alexander VI. Charles V. appointed them to be applied in the following manner: One fourth is allotted to the bishop of the diocese, another fourth to the dean and chapter, and other officers of the cathedral. The remaining half is divided into nine equal parts. Two of these under the denomination of los dos Novenos reales, are paid to the crown, and constitute a branch of the royal revenue. The other seven parts are applied to the maintenance of the parochial clergy, the building and support of churches, and other pious uses. Recopil. lib. i. tit. xvi. Ley. 23, etc. Avendano Thesaur. Indic. vol. i. p. 184.

The Alcavala is a duty levied by an excise on the sale of goods. In Spain, it amounts to ten per cent. In America, to four per cent. Solorzano Polit. Indiana, lib. vi. c. 8. Avendano, vol. i. 186.

The Almajorifazgo, or custom paid in America on goods imported and exported, may amount on an average to fifteen percent. Recopil. lib. viii. tit. xiv. Ley. 1. Avendano, vol. i. 188.

The Averia, or tax paid on account of convoys to guard the ships sailing to and from

America, was first imposed when Sir Francis Drake filled the New World with terror by his expedition to the South Sea. It amounts to two per cent. on the value of goods. Avendaño, vol. i. p. 189. Recopil. lib. ix. tit. ix. Ley. 43, 44.

I have not been able to procure any accurate detail of the several branches of revenue in Peru, later than the year 1614. From a curious manuscript, containing a state of that vice-royalty in all its departments, presented to the Marquis of Montes-Claros, by Fran. Lopez Caravantes, vccomptant-general in the tribunal of Lima, it appears, that the publick revenue, as nearly as I can compute the value of the money in which Caravantes states his accounts that the revenue collected, amounted in ducats at 4s. 11d. to — — — 2,372,768

Expences of government	— —	1,242,962
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Net free revenue		<u>1,129,776</u>
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The total in sterling moncy	—	583,303
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Expences of government	—	305,568
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Net free revenue		<u>277,735</u>
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But several articles appear to be omitted in this computation, such as the duty on stamped paper, leather, ecclesiastical annats, &c. so that the revenue of Peru may be well supposed equal to that of Mexico.

In computing the expence of government in New Spain, I may take that of Peru as a standard.

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There the annual establishment for defraying the charge of administration, exceeds one half of the revenue collected, and there is no reason for supposing it to be less in New Spain.

I have obtained a calculation of the total amount of the publick revenue of Spain from America and the Philippines, which, as the reader will perceive from the two last articles, is more recent than any of the former.

Alcavalas (Excise) and Aduanas

(Customs), &c. in pesos fuertes	2,500,000
Duties on gold and silver	3,000,000
Bull of Cruzada	1,000,000
Tribute of the Indians	2,000,000
By sale of quicksilver	300,000
Paper exported on the king's account, and sold in the royal warehouses	300,000
Stamped paper, tobacco, and other small duties	1,000,000
Duty on coinage of, at the rate of one real de la Plata for each mark	300,000
From the trade of Acapulco, and the coasting trade from province to province	500,000
Affiento of negroes	200,000
From the trade of Mathé, or herb of Paraguay, formerly monopolized by the Jesuits	500,000
Carried forward	<u>11,600,000</u>

	brought over	11,600,000
From other revenues formerly		
belonging to that order	—	400,000
	Total	12,000,000
Total in sterling money	L.	2,700,000
Deduct half, as the expence		
of administration, and there		
remains net free revenue	L.	1,350,000

NOTE LXXIII. p. 376.

An author, long conversant in commercial speculation, has computed, that from the mines of New Spain alone, the king receives annually, as his fifth, the sum of two millions of our money. Harris Collect. of Voy. ii. p. 164. According to this calculation, the total produce of the mines must be ten millions sterling; a sum so exorbitant, and so little corresponding with all accounts of the annual importation from America, that the information on which it is founded must evidently be erroneous. According to Campomanes, the total product of the American mines may be computed at thirty millions of pesos, which, at four shillings and sixpence a peso, amounts to 7,425,000 L. sterling, the king's fifth of which (if that were regularly paid) would be 1,485,000 L. But from this sum the expence of administration is to be deducted, which is very considerable, as appears from the preceding note. Educ. Popular. vol. ii. p. 131. note.

NOTE LXXIV. p. 377.

According to Bern. de Ulloa, all foreign goods exported from Spain to America pay duties of various kinds, amounting in all to more than 25 per cent. As most of the goods with which Spain supplies her colonies are foreign; such a tax upon a trade so extensive must yield a considerable revenue. *Retablif. de Manuf. & du Commerce d'Esp.* p. 150. He computes the value of goods exported annually from Spain to America, to be about two millions and a half sterling, p. 97.

NOTE LXXV. p. 379.

The Marquis de Serralvo, according to Gage, by a monopoly of salt, and by embarking deeply in the Manila trade as well as that to Spain, gained annually a million of ducats. In one year he remitted a million of ducats to Spain, in order to purchase from the Condè Olivares, and his creatures, a prolongation of his government, p. 61. He was successful in his suit, and continued in office from 1624 to 1635, double the usual time.

SHORT ACCOUNT

O F

What is contained in the LETTER sent to the
EMPEROR, mentioned Preface, p. 37.

THIS letter is dated July 6th, 1519. Cortes in his second dispatch takes notice that it was sent off on the 16th of July.

The great object of the persons who wrote this letter, is to justify their own conduct in establishing a colony independent on the jurisdiction of Velasquez. With this view they endeavoured to detract from his merit, in fitting out the two former armaments under Cordova and Grijalva, representing these as equipped by the adventurers who engaged in the expedition, not by the governor. They labour likewise to depreciate the services of Cordova and Grijalva, in order to exalt the merit of their own exploits.

They contend, that the sole object of Velasquez was to trade or barter with the natives. not to attempt the conquest of New Spain, or the establishment of colony there. This is frequently mentioned by B. Diaz del Castillo, c. 19. 41, 42, &c. But if Velasquez had not conquest and settlement in view, there seems to have been no reason for equipping such a considerable armament.

They assert, that Cortes defrayed the greatest part of the expence of fitting out the armament. But this does not agree with the account of his slender fortune given by Gomara, Cron. c. 7, and 8. Diaz, c. 20, or what I have mentioned Note lxxi. vol. ii.

They take notice, that though considerable numbers were wounded in their different encounters with the people of Tabasco not one of them died, and all recovered in a short time. This seems to confirm what I have observed vol. ii. p. 285, concerning the imperfection of the offensive weapons of the Americans.

They give some account of the manners and institutions of the Mexicans. It is very short, and as they had resided but a short time in the country, and had but little intercourse with the natives, it is both defective and inaccurate. They describe minutely, and with great horror, the human sacrifices offered by the Mexicans to their deities, and affirm that some of their number were eye-witnesses of those barbarous rites.

They subjoin to their letter a catalogue and description of the presents sent to the emperor. That published by Gomara, Cron. c. 29. seems to have been copied from it, and Pet. Martyr describes many of the articles in his treatise *De Insulis nuper inventis*, p. 354, &c.

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N. B. The Roman Numerals refer to the Volume and the Figures to the Page.

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